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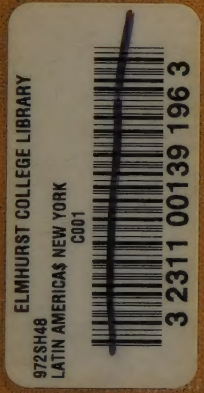

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LATIN AMERICA

BY

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PREFACE

"Latin America" is a geographical expression applied to twenty republics in the New World. Eighteen of them have arisen from Spanish origins, and hence are known collectively as "Spanish America." Of the other two, Brazil has sprung from Portuguese settlement, and Haiti owes its existence to France.

The present work is intended to serve as an introduction to the study of the various republics in Latin America. Given the small amount of space that is available, to treat each country in separate fashion would be to compile a statistical summary. Since the group of states is numerically large and their points of resemblance, on the whole, are greater than their points of difference, to emphasize their individuality throughout would be as difficult a performance as that of trying to satisfy each state that full justice was being shown it in comparison with its fellows. After all, the existence of twenty republics, as such, is less important than is

the evidence of what they have done to merit attention.

Unfair and erroneous notions, which are only too prevalent about the lands of Latin America, are best dispelled by bringing forward the proofs of civilization. To this end institutions and culture should be made the touchstone that determines appreciation. As exemplified in the colonial period, they will reveal the kind of equipment with which the republics started on their career. As exemplified by one state or another since that time, they will indicate the extent to which any given republic has advanced to the forefront of nations that have a direct share in the general progress of mankind, or has lagged behind them. For these reasons the contents of the book have been arranged, in the main, so as to describe phases of civilization, and to draw from one country or another illustrations of similarities, or of differences, in character, spirit and attainment.

W. R. S.

CONTENTS

PART I

The Colonies

CHAP.		PAGE
I	The Expansion of Spain and Portugal	9
II	Government	19
III	Social Organization	29
IV	Economic Conditions	38
V	The Church	49
VI	Intellectual and Artistic Status	59

PART II

The Republics

VII	Independence	69
VIII	National Development	81
IX	International Relations	96
X	Geography and Resources	107
XI	Social Characteristics	121
XII	Political and Financial Situation	141
XIII	Industry	154
XIV	Commerce	168

CHAP. PAGE

XV TRANSPORTATION 179

XVI EDUCATION 192

XVII PUBLIC CHARITY AND SOCIAL SERVICE . . . 204

XVIII SCIENCE 208

XIX JOURNALISM 215

XX LITERATURE 227

XXI FINE ARTS 241

APPENDIX: AREA AND POPULATION 251

SUGGESTIONS TO READERS. 252

INDEX 253

MAP . . . . . *Facing* 8

THE REPUBLICS OF LATIN AMERICA
Disputed Boundaries
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 750 1000
NORTH AMERICA
UNITED STATES
TEXAS
ALABAMA
FLORIDA
MISSISSIPPI
Rio Grande
GULF OF MEXICO
Havana
CUBA
HAITI
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
WEST INDIES
MEXICO
Mexico
Vera Cruz
Tehuantepec
Isthmus of
YUCATAN
BRITISH HONDURAS
JAMAICA
Port-au-Prince
(HISPANIOLA)
Santo Domingo
PORTO RICO
CARIBBEAN SEA
GUA.
HON.
NICAR.
CENTRAL AMERICA
Guatemala
San Salvador
Managua
Tegucigalpa
San José
COSTA RICA
PANAMA
Isthmus of Panama
Colon
Porto Bello
Panama
Caracas
TRINIDAD
VENEZUELA
Orinoco R.
BRITISH
DUTCH
FRENCH
GUIANA
COLOMBIA
Bogotá
PACIFIC OCEAN
EQUATOR
Quito
ECUADOR
Amazon R.
Para
Pernambuco
PERNAMBUCO
BRAZIL
Madeira R.
PERU
Lima
Lake Titicaca
La Paz
Tacna
Arica
BOLIVIA
Potosi
Mamoré R.
Guaporé R.
MATTO GROSSO
BAHIA
Bahia
MINAS GERAES
RIO DE JANEIRO
ESPIRITO SANTO
SÃO PAULO
Rio de Janeiro
São Paulo
Iguassu Falls
PARAGUAY
Asunción
ARGENTINE
RIO GRANDE DO SUL
Paraguay R.
Paraná
Uruguay
Valparaiso
Santiago
Buenos Ayres
La Plata
Montevideo
La Plata R.
REPUBLIC
Straits of Magellan
ATLANTIC OCEAN
YUCATAN
CARIBBEAN SEA
BRITISH HONDURAS
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
Tegucigalpa
Guatemala
San Salvador
NICARAGUA
Managua
L. Nicaragua
COSTA RICA
San José
PANAMA
Panama
Colón
Porto Bello
Panama Canal
Isthmus of Panama
PACIFIC OCEAN

LATIN AMERICA

PART I

THE COLONIES

CHAPTER I

THE EXPANSION OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

THE largest of the islands visited by Columbus in his first voyage was known to its native inhabitants as "Haiti." This name he changed forthwith to "Española," or Hispaniola, abbreviated from "Tierra española" or "Spanish Land." Here Columbus proceeded to establish a town called "Navidad" (Christmas), which was destroyed by the natives soon after he returned to Spain. The first permanent European settlement was not founded until 1496. This was the city of Santo Domingo, a name that was often applied later to the entire island, and to the eastern and western divisions of it, separately, as well.

The voyages of Columbus and of the men who followed in his wake under the banners of Spain and Portugal, between 1493 and 1503, led to the discovery, not only of the islands of the West Indies, but of the Atlantic mainland of North and South America,

all the way from what is now Honduras to Uruguay. In this course of action Portugal had relatively little share. An agreement between the two Iberian powers, in 1494, had provided for a "demarcation line," running from pole to pole and extending 370 leagues west of the Azores Islands. The Spanish area of activity was to lie to the westward and the Portuguese to the eastward of this line. It happened, however, that, in 1500, a Portuguese expedition bound for India went so far out of its course that it reached the northeastern coast of South America. This fact, added to the rights conferred by the "demarcation line" which, though never actually run, undoubtedly would have cut through the eastern part of the southern continent, gave Portugal its claim to the present Brazil. But as Portugal was absorbed at the time in the development of its trade with India and the regions beyond, the immediate work of colonization in the New World was left to Spain.

So far as the West Indies were concerned, Spain confined its area of occupation to the four large islands. Expeditions from Hispaniola took possession of Porto Rico in 1508, of Jamaica in 1509 and of Cuba in 1511. As time went on Cuba became the most important of them all. A fertile soil gave it commercial value, and its location

made it strategically the key to the Gulf of Mexico. Certain points, also, along the coast of what is now Venezuela were occupied from Hispaniola between 1523 and 1527. Twenty years later, after a futile attempt at colonization by a German banking-house, the Welser of Augsburg, to whom the region had been assigned as a fief, it became definitely a Spanish province.

Though settlements had been made on the Caribbean coast of southern Central America as early as 1509, it was not until after Balboa had discovered the Pacific Ocean that active interest began to be shown in its development. In 1519 the seat of government was shifted across the isthmus to Panama. From this point expeditions were despatched to the northward, which laid the foundations of Spanish power in the present Costa Rica (1523) and Nicaragua (1525).

Towns began to spring up, also, along the Caribbean shore of what is now Colombia. From one of these an expedition, sent out in 1536, effected within two years the conquest of a large part of the interior.

Meanwhile the Spanish arms had won laurels far more brilliant. As a result of explorations from Cuba, in 1517 and 1518, news was brought of the wondrous civilization of the state ruled by a native people known as "Aztecs," on the plateau of

Anáhuac in the central portion of the present Mexico. Forthwith all available resources were called into play to equip a formidable array of fighting men who should win this realm for Spain. Under the leadership of a young soldier of fortune, named Hernando Cortés, a struggle began, in 1519, which ended two years later in the complete subjugation of the Aztecs and their confederates. The course of conquest was then carried southward into what are now Guatemala, Salvador and Honduras. By 1525 all three of these areas had become more or less subject to Spanish control.

Rumors borne to Panama of a southern dominion called "Birú" (Peru), the wealth and splendor of which, under the sway of the "Incas," were said to resemble those of Aztec Mexico, stirred Francisco Pizarro, a former comrade of Balboa, to emulate the achievements of Cortés. In 1531 he succeeded in gathering the necessary force, and by the end of the following year had gained possession of the coveted region. From Peru as a center his lieutenants widened the Spanish domain northward, eastward and southward, by the issue of their campaigns in the present Ecuador (1533), Bolivia (1538) and Chile (1540).

About the same time a futile effort to rival the feat of Pizarro was made in the

lands to the southeast of his general zone of conquest. Its net result was the planting of a Spanish settlement in what is now Paraguay (1536). Seventeen years later the definitive colonization of the present Argentine Republic was begun in the northwest by an expedition from Chile, and, in 1580, along the River Plate (La Plata), by one from Spain.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the work of the Spanish "conquistadores" (conquerors) had been substantially accomplished. Their motives, and those of the men in general who entered upon the earlier exploration, conquest and colonization of the New World, may be summed up in the three words "gospel, glory and gold." Providence, it would seem, had bestowed upon Spain a huge dominion overflowing with a wealth beyond the wildest dreams, abounding in the possibilities of exploits that would bring fame to the adventurous as well as grandeur to their country, and teeming with heathen peoples to be converted to the true faith and given the blessings of civilization. Romance and reality stirred the soul of the Spaniards to deeds of strength and valor almost unparalleled in the annals of mankind. Forcing their impetuous way through tropical swamp and forest, up mighty mountain ranges, and across trackless plains, battling at every step with savage nature and still

more savage man, and marring many an act of heroism by shameful scenes of blood, they created for Spain an empire greater in extent than any that the world had ever known.

Despite all its glamor, what the process of conquest really did was to secure certain strategic points of vantage, which might serve as foundations for the colonial Spanish America yet to be constructed. It is an error to suppose that what happened before 1550 was generally true of the centuries to follow. On the contrary, with very rare exceptions, the course of colonial expansion during the far longer period took the form of setting up an orderly system of life, whereby the relations of conquerors and conquered might be effectively adjusted. Evolution along these lines, and not a romantic career of military adventure, explains how Spain consolidated a dominion that lasted upwards of three hundred years and left a heritage of eighteen republics.

Although a few Portuguese convicts had early been banished to the region of Brazil, nothing like permanent occupation was essayed there until after a number of French settlers had located themselves along the northeastern coast. In 1530, accordingly, an expedition was organized under the command of Martim Affonso de Souza, an experienced navigator, to take formal posses-

sion of the land in the name of Portugal and drive out the intruders. He reached the shores of Brazil early in the following year, but did not fix upon the site for a colony until 1532. The spot chosen was in the southern part of the country in what is now the State of São Paulo.

About this time the coast of Brazil was partitioned into twelve feudal "captaincies." The purpose of the arrangement was to awaken interest in a land that offered, as yet, no evidence that it contained any such wealth in precious metals as had fallen elsewhere in America to the fortunate lot of the Spaniards. In only six of the grants were permanent settlements erected. All of them lay within the present States of São Paulo, Espirito Santo, Bahia and Pernambuco, and constituted the chief centers from which the areas of colonization in Brazil were successively widened. Because of this location of the settlements more or less independently at various points along the coast, life in the Portuguese colony never became so concentrated in the capital city, as was commonly the case in Spanish America. Nor did the processes of occupation extend so far into the interior: the size of the country forbade it.

Among the Portuguese founders of Brazil there were no empire-builders actually comparable with the Spanish "conquistadores."

The same incentives did not exist. Portugal itself was inferior to Spain in size and strength. Its characteristics and traditions were less intense and less imperialistic. Whatever energies it possessed found their fields of application mainly in the East Indies. No native states, furthermore, of relatively high civilization, like those of the Aztecs and the Incas, with their corresponding riches, existed anywhere in its American domain.

The nearest approach to the "conquistadores" was furnished by the "Paulistas," largely a racial blend of Portuguese and Indian found within the area of São Paulo. They were the real pioneers of Brazil. Following the "bandeira," or banner, of a chosen chieftain, and hence known as "bandeirantes," they fought their way into the interior, in a search for Indian slaves and the precious metals. On a much smaller scale, but none the less effectively, their traits and achievements bore a marked resemblance to those of their Spanish compeers.

In 1581 all the European colonies in the world became possessions of the crown of Spain, and a situation arose that never had existed before, and has never been known since. Master both on land and sea, Philip II of Spain and Portugal was a monarch whose power apparently had no bounds. Of those days it could well be said that,

"when Spain moved, the world trembled." Yet his empire was too huge, too loosely constructed, too lacking in essential strength, to remain long intact. While it is true that Portugal continued subject to a Spanish ruler until 1641, the dissolution of the Portuguese dominions began early in the same century. Not content with assailing and appropriating many of its possessions in the Far East, the Dutch turned their attention to Brazil. From 1630 until 1654 they held a large part of the northeastern section of the country, and did not yield their pretensions to it until 1661.

Now that Portugal had recovered its independence of Spain and expelled the Dutch invaders, it proceeded to advance its dominion in Brazil considerably to the southwestward. Both Spain and Portugal claimed the area between São Paulo and the River Plate, as a consequence of the arrangements made in connection with the "line of demarcation." In 1680 the Portuguese founded on that river the first settlement within the limits of the present Uruguay. It became a source of constant strife and irritation between the two powers. The Paulistas, also, clashed with certain Spanish Jesuits of Paraguay, who were seeking to connect their mission settlements eastward with the ocean.

Still another cause of discord was furnished, in 1723, when the Portuguese strengthened their grasp upon the River Plate by establishing an additional post in Uruguay, just at the entrance to the river. Three years later the post was seized and thereafter retained by Spain. Not until 1777 was an agreement finally reached, in accordance with which the region of Uruguay was recognized as belonging to Spain, and the land to the eastward of the Spanish possessions in general, as the rightful territory of Portugal.

A domain so vast and so rich as that held by Spain in the New World naturally became an object of envy to many a European rival. Until well into the eighteenth century, pirates, buccaneers and smugglers, English, Dutch and French, swarmed along the coasts, pillaging and destroying vessels and towns. Repeated efforts were made, particularly by the English on the Caribbean side of Central America, to gain a foothold on the lands of the imperious Spaniard, whose weakness at home seemed to render his colonies fit objects of spoil. Yet the huge mass remained almost intact, and even became larger still.

By 1786 the Spanish dominions may fairly be said to have reached their widest bounds. Eastward the scattering settlements stretched

half of the eighteenth century, when the work was completed. From 1763 onward the office of viceroy was definitely established, and the seat of government fixed at Rio de Janeiro.

The captains general, in charge of the separate provinces, frequently evinced a marked spirit of independence toward their superior. The people of the various captaincies, similarly, did not hesitate to oppose, whenever they could do so, any interference on the part of the central authority in purely local concerns. Given the circumstances under which many of the provinces had been originally founded, added to the lax administration of the mother country in general, it is not strange that the relations among them should have been much closer than was possible in the case of the Spanish colonies.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Among the numerous groups of aborigines in the New World the grade of civilization ranged from utter savagery up to a superior sort of barbarism. The lowest in the scale were nomads and cannibals. Others, like the virile Araucanians of Chile or the gentler Guaranís of Paraguay, carried on a rude kind of agriculture, and dwelt in more or

less permanent communities. Some of the natives had even made remarkable progress in the institutions of an orderly life.

To the relatively civilized class belonged the inhabitants of the cooler regions of the highlands extending from central Mexico to southern Peru. Typical of them were the loose confederation of tribes under the Aztecs and the mass of natives who submitted to the yoke of the Incas. Both had built upon foundations laid by peoples of a culture higher than their own, and of an origin altogether obscure.

Externally at least, with its potentates, priests, nobles, commoners, serfs and slaves, the social system of the Aztecs and the Incas bore much resemblance to that prevailing in Europe at the time, or was made to appear so by the Spanish writers who described it. Elaborate forms of administration had been devised, class distinctions had arisen, and various arts and industries flourished.

To this aboriginal element in America was added another from Africa. Early in the sixteenth century negro slaves were brought to the West Indies to replace the natives as laborers on the plantations and in the mines. From the islands they soon spread to the mainland about the Caribbean Sea.

Whatever may be said of the conduct of the early adventurers, the Spanish govern-

ment itself was very solicitous about the welfare of these two dependent peoples. It prohibited the enslavement of the Indians, and recognized them legally as subjects of the crown, though standing on a somewhat lower plane than those of Spanish descent. This was designed to protect them against exploitation and oppression, while it restrained any tendencies on their part to relapse into the ways of barbarism. The laws enjoined the officials to take care that both the Indians and the negroes should be kindly treated. Had the enactments been consistently applied, the lot of the humbler folk in the colonies would have been much happier than it was.

On the several bases of the native characteristics, the policy of the home government, the conduct of the individual colonists, and the conditions in general arising out of the contact of Europeans, Indians and Africans, the Spaniards erected their social organization in America. Intermarriage of the races was early established. The pioneers had come without their womankind. Almost everywhere the Spanish settlers were far less numerous than the natives. Considerations of temperament and climate also had their effect. The Europeans, accordingly, blended with the Indians, and to a small extent with the negroes, to form a new society. From the mixture of the white and

the Indian came the "mestizo," from that of the white and the negro, the mulatto, from that of the negro and the Indian, the "zambo," and from the crossings of these and their descendants, an extraordinary variety of ethnic types, along with a nomenclature for them that was bewildering.

Although the physical, mental and moral traits of all these ancestors were reproduced to some degree, and although the European element on the whole remained dominant, the racial foundation in colonial Spanish America was not European but Indian. Only in the southern part of South America did the Spaniards keep their blood relatively free from contact with that of the natives. This was due, partly to climatic and economic considerations, partly to the relatively smaller number of the aborigines and to the extermination of a few of the tribes, and partly to the fact that the country occupied was large enough to make it possible for the two social factors to remain fairly separate. Regarding the precise number of the population in Spanish America at large, the estimates for the end of the eighteenth century range from 12,000,000 to 19,000,000, of which the percentage of whites, or of those who passed for whites, in any given colony was probably somewhere between one eighth and two fifths.

Of this population the bulk was found outside of the distinctly tropical regions. Except where commercial connections might require otherwise, the Spaniards settled in the upland areas. Because of the cooler and more healthful climate, and as a measure of security against attacks from European enemies, they erected most of their towns and villages on sites thousands of feet above the level of the sea, and well-nigh inaccessible from the coast.

Towns like Potosí in the silver-mining district of what is now Bolivia, with its population at one time of 160,000, Mexico, Guatemala, Lima, Buenos Ayres, Caracas and Havana were all distinguished for their wealth and splendor. Potosí, in particular, and later, Mexico, were beyond doubt the finest cities in the New World.

Among the inhabitants of town and country two main classes developed. To the first of these belonged the native Spaniards and the creoles, *i. e.*, whites born in America, and those of mixed descent who traced their ancestry to Spaniards and to the families of Indian chieftains. Below them came the heterogeneous mass of half castes in whom the percentage of Spanish blood was small, and the great body of the Indians and negroes. Europeans not of Spanish stock were exceedingly rare. For a while even Spaniards

3176

other than Castilians were forbidden to go to America. Because of religious, economic and political reasons, foreigners were not welcome. Heretics of course could not be tolerated; the mineral wealth of the New World was too precious to share with outsiders, and the huge extent of the Spanish dominions, compared with the size and strength of Spain itself, made a policy of exclusion desirable.

True to the traditions of the mother country, positions in the government, the church and the army were eagerly sought by the members of the upper class. The enjoyment of rank and title, which would assure the largest social prominence with the smallest expenditure of effort, was the goal of ambition. A few patents of colonial nobility were granted. Persons not so favored contented themselves with orders and decorations dispensed by the crown. The higher offices in state and church were usually reserved to native-born Spaniards, while the lower ones fell to the creoles. The latter, also, constituted the majority of the planters, cattle-raisers, mine-owners, professional men and merchants. To the half castes of low degree, as well as to the Indians and negroes in general, were relegated the humbler trades and labor of the ruder sort.

Among the members of the upper class

some prided themselves on the fact that they came from one province or another in Spain; although in the long run Andalusia and the Basque provinces triumphed over all the rest in their influence on character, speech, dress and custom. Others gloried in their descent from the "conquistadores," from the Spanish and Indian nobility, and from ancestors of wealth or of high official station.

But the great contrast that pervaded social relations in colonial Spanish America was that which existed between the native Spaniards and the creoles. Nowhere was the line easy to draw. The Spaniards did not constitute the governing class wholly, any more than the creoles made up the wealthy element alone. Yet the attitude of the creoles became hostile, or at least resentful, toward the natives of the mother country, who were accused of insufferable arrogance and exclusiveness, due to the especial favors they received from the home government.

Whatever the amount of ill-feeling that prevailed among them, the members of the ruling class were more or less equally disdainful of the plebeian multitude below. The former were distinctly the "gente de razón," or rational folk, whereas the latter, presumably, were the ignorant and debased. In their turn the lower orders were none too

friendly disposed toward their white superiors, and were also inclined to view with condescension such of their own number as they considered to be of inferior station.

In this attitude of mutual resentment and disdain the power of the home government found one of its strongest supports. So long as the Spaniards and the creoles could be kept in a state of disagreement, a judicious distribution of offices and other favors would suffice to hold it within bounds as a useful undercurrent of repulsion. Indeed, the humane treatment of the Indians appears to have been more or less designed. Since the natives looked upon the Spanish government and clergy as their protectors against the whites, whether Spaniards or creoles, they supplied a valuable counterpoise to any display of undue ambition from that quarter. All of this constituted the social phase of the policy of "divide and rule"; but it never operated to the point of causing the social divisions to become altogether sharp and irreconcilable.

Much of what has been said so far of Spanish America applies to Brazil under the Portuguese dominion. The Indian element was less numerous, and on the whole inferior to that found elsewhere in the New World. Despite the raids of the Paulistas, attempts at the enslavement of the abori-

gines were not altogether successful. Many of the natives lived far from the coast, they could escape quite readily into the jungles of the interior, and they were unfitted to supply the kind of labor demanded. Though enjoying considerable protection from the clergy, they were neglected by the home government, which made no serious effort to prohibit their enslavement till the middle of the eighteenth century.

The negro slave population, on the other hand, especially along the eastern coast of Brazil, was relatively larger than in Spanish America. From the time of their first importation, in 1563, the hot, moist climate of the lowlands and the life on the great plantations proved to be well suited to the blacks. Though often treated cruelly by their masters, they throve abundantly.

Like the Spaniards, the Portuguese colonists freely mingled their blood with that of the Indians and Africans, constituting a mixed society in which the fusion was more complete and the differentiation, on account of race and color, less noticeable than in Spanish America. In the fairly temperate regions of the south, where the aborigines were of a strong stock, the white settlers amalgamated with them to form the vigorous, enterprising and aggressive "mamelucos" among the Paulistas. The activities

of these southerners, in fact, contributed as efficaciously to their domination over the affairs of the colony at large, as they did to the maintenance of Portuguese control in the southwestern portion of it against the pretensions of Spain. Here and elsewhere in the settled areas of Brazil, toward the close of the eighteenth century, there were altogether about 3,000,000 inhabitants, white, half caste, Indian and negro.

Antagonism between creoles and the native Portuguese in Brazil had much the same reasons for existence as in Spanish America, but the economic motive was stronger. The Paulistas resented the Portuguese competition in the mining regions, and the creole sugar-planters in the northeast disliked the merchants from the mother country on account of their trade methods. In both cases armed conflict ensued. That it was decided in favor of the Portuguese, certainly did not improve the temper of the creoles.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Except in Peru and the adjacent regions under the rule of the Incas, where the llama had been trained to carry loads, there were no domestic animals known to the Indians. Among the more advanced communities

human beings, especially captives taken in war and converted into slaves, served as the beasts of burden.

With all due allowance for the exaggeration of early Spanish writers on the subject, and for the relative scarcity of archeological remains, there is reason to believe that in the communities of that sort material civilization had made considerable headway. From metals, stone, clay, wood, and cotton and other textile substances the natives fashioned many articles of utility, and even of luxury. They built dikes, causeways, aqueducts, roads and bridges. Out of wrought stone they constructed huge temples, pyramids, fortresses and palaces.

The idea prevalent among the Spaniards, that labor was more or less dishonorable, and the fact that their number was so small in comparison with the multitude of aborigines, made it imperative that they should use the Indians to develop the wealth of the New World. Unless the native inhabitants were employed to that end, the process of colonization could not go on. They had to be forced to work, and the disposition to make them do so became all the more marked after the Spaniards had found out that the relatively civilized groups of Indians on the continents were thoroughly familiar with systematic forms of labor. To hold the

people of this class in some kind of servitude was simply to continue a practice that had long since existed.

Though opposing such treatment at first, the Spanish government later allowed it to be applied in the case of Indians who might resist the establishment of Spanish rule, but then only as a means of insuring their conversion to Christianity and their advancement in civilization. Three plans of action were soon adopted to make the natives work without legally enslaving them. One, called the "repartimiento," consisted in the official distribution, at various points where their services might be required, of batches of Indians under the direction of foremen of their own race. Since this arrangement implied no personal obligation to promote the welfare of the aborigines, another device was put into effect. Under the name "encomienda," it took the form of officially assigning a given number of natives to a particular colonist, who was charged with the duty of instructing them in the Catholic faith. Also, in order to protect them against exploitation in mines and elsewhere, the "mita," or shift, was introduced, according to which gangs of laborers were to work for a certain period of time.

For the Indians subjected to any of these arrangements, and for those who worked

independently of them, elaborate safeguards were provided by law against the performance of service under conditions injurious to health and morals, regulating the nature and extent of the tasks imposed, and assuring to the natives fair treatment in general. Furthermore, just as the unfitness of the inhabitants of the West Indies for sustained effort made the employment of negro slaves advisable, so the abuses committed by many of the holders of "encomiendas," and the frauds perpetrated by unscrupulous traders, early suggested the appointment of the local governors to check them.

Instead of complying with their duties, the district officials often used their power for self-enrichment. Some of the evils were corrected eventually through the establishment of the intendancies.

Although the Spanish government desired that the colonists should be self-supporting, and hence required that they should take with them seeds, domestic animals, farm implements and the like, the early adventurers preferred to gain their livelihood in easier fashion. Constantly searching for gold, silver and precious stones, they plundered the Indians, sacked the burial mounds, stripped the shrines of their ornaments and compelled the natives to dig in the mines.

Gradually, with the introduction of a

more orderly life, the bulk of the Spanish settlers became planters and herdsmen. In addition to the grains, fruits and vegetables brought from Europe, they cultivated numerous products of the New World itself, with which the Indians were already familiar. Among them were tobacco, Paraguay tea, maize, potatoes, tomatoes and cacao — the last named especially on the "chocolatales" of Mexico, and of what are now Bolivia and Venezuela.

Mining was the most lucrative industry. Its development caused Mexico, Peru, and the present Bolivia and Colombia to become the treasure-houses of the world.

How much wealth in the precious metals, particularly of silver, was actually drawn from the mines in the Spanish dominions, no one knows; but the amount was certainly enormous. Estimates for the entire colonial period are merely guesswork. Whatever the quantity, it fell off considerably in the eighteenth century. At that time it may have averaged in value about $36,000,000 a year.

Viewed from the standpoint of the other forms of industry, manufacturing made but little progress. Conditions were altogether primitive in most cases, and besides, the Spanish government disapproved of activities of that sort, as it did also of the cultivation of the vine and the olive. Not only

were they apt to compete with the scanty home production, but they interfered with the collection of export duties on commodities brought from other European countries for shipment to America.

For the Spanish crown the "remesas de Indias," or consignments from America, were an important source of income. On the output of precious metals and stones the government levied a duty of from ten to twenty per cent, and a smaller one on that of metals of the baser sort. These imposts, and the proceeds from excise taxes, such as the "alcabala," which was placed on ordinary business transactions, from import and export duties, and from royal monopolies and special fees, constituted the public revenue. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the receipts amounted to about $90,000,000 a year, of which sum, on an average, rather more than four-fifths went to meet the expenses of colonial administration. Most of the separate colonies, in fact, were supported by annual subsidies (situados) furnished by the mining centers.

In 1503 there had been established at Seville, then the most important seaport of southern Spain, an official institution called the "House of Trade" (Casa de Contratación). Fully organized some forty years later, it became the medium of communica-

tion between the mother country and the colonies in everything that had to do with commerce. It was at once a maritime exchange, a bureau of navigation and a high court of admiralty. While in general subordinate to the Council or Minister of the Indies, the officials who constituted the several administrative and judicial boards could deal also with the crown directly.

For the protection of Spanish shipping against attack while en route to or from America, and for the prevention of smuggling, in 1561 the fleet system was put into operation. Thereafter, unless special permission to the contrary were granted, the vessels could sail but once a year each way, and they had to go in two groups under armed convoy. Foreign ships, of course, were shut out of the traffic. Even intercolonial trade, except in conjunction with the arrival of the fleets, was forbidden.

The "flota," or northern division, bound for Vera Cruz, carried a cargo consigned to various points in Spanish North America, and received there the colonial goods intended for Europe. Merchandise for any part of Spanish South America was sent in the "galeones" (galleons), or southern fleet, to Porto Bello, on the Isthmus of Panama. Here the bulk of the cargo was landed, and the commodities destined for Europe were taken on board.

Both were distributed at a species of fair which attracted great numbers of people, in spite of the unhealthfulness of a locality that became known as "the Spaniards' burying-ground."

All these measures of precaution did not, and could not, succeed. The huge Spanish vessels, half freighters and half men-of-war, were unable to defend themselves advantageously against the light and speedy craft of the sea rovers, lawful and piratical, of England, the Netherlands and France, who regarded the treasures of the New World as their rightful spoil. Nor were the Spanish revenue cutters (guardacostas) adequate to cope with smugglers, foreign and native. The small number of vessels in the fleets, their infrequent sailings, the convoy charges (avería) and other expenses connected with transportation, and the scarcity of colonial ports of call, furthermore, made the cost of European goods very high. Particularly was this true of articles intended for points remote from such ports, and which might have to be carried overland.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that the colonists should have practiced an art well known in the mother country. More or less with the connivance of the local officials, who were not always averse to

gratifications for silence, they bought whatever they needed from obliging foreigners, like the English and the Dutch, who were easily able to undersell the factors of the fleets. After the English had secured, in 1713, the right to send a heavily laden ship yearly to the fair at Porto Bello, and by the so-called "asiento," the monopoly of supplying Spanish America with negro slaves, the process of smuggling became more prevalent than ever. So ingenious were the devices employed by the English, and so apt their Spanish disciples in the colonies, that the Minister of the Indies felt constrained to invoke the aid of the clergy against the evil.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the Spanish government became convinced that the organization of colonial commerce would have to be reformed. Accordingly, in 1748, the fleet system, as such, was practically abandoned. For it were substituted "register ships" of a lighter, faster and more seaworthy type than the galleons, and sailing at frequent intervals. Later, in response to constant appeals and remonstrances from the colonies, various ports in Spain and Spanish America were opened to trade. Intercolonial traffic, also, was allowed, extending even to Portuguese Brazil.

Despite these improvements, communication between the mother country and the

colonies remained slow. In the days of the galleons, seventeen months were sometimes required for a royal edict to reach Lima. Nor was transit between one point in the colonies and another at all rapid. The distances were often tremendous, and the roads little more than rough trails. Goods carried on pack animals, on the backs of natives or in rude ox-carts took an interminably long time in which to reach their destination.

In Brazil, particularly in the northeastern section of the colony, agriculture and stock-raising made considerable progress. Sugar-cane, tobacco and cotton were cultivated, and to a much smaller extent, rice and other food products. Coffee was not introduced until 1760. The cutting of the valuable dyestuff called "Brazil wood," and the gathering of Brazil nuts were also carried on.

Because of the relatively late discovery of precious metals and stones, mainly between 1680 and 1730, mining could not be reckoned among the chief industries of Brazil before the first half of the eighteenth century. In the southern portion of the colony, especially in what is now the State of Minas Geraes (literally, "General Mines"), the output of gold and diamonds for several decades was very large.

Apart from industries arising directly out of the production of rum and other deriva-

tives from sugar-cane, manufacturing made less headway in Brazil than in Spanish America. The cane, sugar and rum were brought to the seaports authorized for the purpose, and there shipped to Portugal in exchange for flour, cloth, wines and the like.

After the mines were opened, the revenues of the mother country enjoyed a considerable increase. On the output of the precious metals and stones a twenty per cent tax (quinto) was levied, yielding annually on an average about $2,500,000. From this source and others the revenue secured in the eighteenth century may have been worth upwards of $10,000,000 a year. Except that duties and excises, as a rule, were higher than in Spanish America, the system of taxation in Brazil was much the same.

For the benefit of home interests, and since the early part of the eighteenth century, for the advantage of English merchants who had gained control of Portuguese trade, the government of the mother country laid a variety of restrictions on colonial commerce and industry. From the outset it had made the traffic in Brazil wood a royal monopoly. It granted to individuals and corporations, Portuguese and foreign, exclusive rights of handling certain commodities, and forbade trade between the northern and the southern provinces of Brazil. Furthermore, it dis-

couraged the local distillation of rum, and eventually prohibited all weaving industries, except those connected with the production of coarse cotton goods.

Nothing so efficient as the Spanish "House of Trade" was ever devised in Portugal, though colonial commerce was limited to Lisbon and Oporto, in the mother country, and to a few ports in Brazil. The fleet system, also, was in vogue for a time but the privileges enjoyed by private agencies made it of little importance, except perhaps as a means of protection.

During the eighteenth century Saint Domingue, the French part of the island of Hispaniola, became a flourishing domain. Toiling under their white taskmasters, an ever increasing multitude of negro slaves supplied Europe with a great part of its sugar, cotton, tobacco and indigo. A prosperity reckoned in hundreds of millions of francs made of Saint Domingue one of the most valuable colonies of the time in the New World.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH

No monarch of the time was deemed to be so Catholic as his majesty of Spain, and none enjoyed in his dominions oversea so great an

amount of ecclesiastical power. By various papal grants within twenty years after the discovery of America, the Spanish crown was given substantially complete jurisdiction there over the organization and activities of the Church. In exercise of the "royal patronage" (real patronato), it controlled appointments to benefices and other holdings, regulated the conduct of the clergy, and disposed of ecclesiastical property and revenues.

The Church, in fact, was the greatest instrument of authority which the crown possessed in the colonies. Just as it had perpetuated in Europe the traditions of Rome, so in the New World it perpetuated those of Spain. Rather than secular agencies of any sort, it was the clergy who adjusted the relationship between the whites and the Indians, who inculcated loyalty to the Spanish throne, and contributed in general to the maintenance and extension of Spanish rule.

In order to prosecute the work of the Church more effectually, the Inquisition was set up, in 1569. Thereafter confining its attention exclusively to the European element in the population, that dread tribunal punished heretical Spaniards and foreigners like sailors, smugglers and pirates, who might have the misfortune to fall into its clutches. But, except for its censorship of thought, the activities of the Inquisition in America were

much less pernicious than has been commonly supposed.

So great were the wealth and influence of the Church that it became customary to estimate the importance of a given locality by the number of its ecclesiastical buildings. Many of the edifices, of course, were used as hospitals and asylums, and for charitable and educational purposes in general, under the direct control of the Church, or of benevolent societies organized by it.

As a rule the members of the higher clergy were men of character and ability. Theirs was no slight task to advance the cause of the Church as the great moral guide of society, to correct misbehavior on the part of officials, civil and ecclesiastical, and to protect the natives against oppression, without encouraging them to resist the enforcement of Spanish authority or incurring the ill will of the colonists. In this respect their conduct furnished another example of the astute policy of the home government in keeping the colonial forces balanced.

Among those who belonged to the lower clergy were the priests (curas), the catechists (doctrineros) and the missionaries (misioneros). The "curas" ministered to the religious needs of places inhabited chiefly by Spaniards and creoles. The "doctrineros" and "misioneros" were monks, usually of the

Jesuit, Franciscan or Dominican order. Of these two classes the former taught the catechism and performed other religious duties among the communities of converted Indians, while the latter labored for the spread of the faith among the heathen.

The missionaries were true pioneers, and their zealous activities contributed in large measure to the widening of the area of Spanish control. After they had induced a sufficient number of natives in a certain locality to enter upon a civilized life, according to the religious standards of the time, and had been duly replaced by the "doctrineros," they struck out still farther into the wilderness. Then, with the arrival of white colonists, the aspect of the settlement changed, and the former Indian community became a Spanish village.

Many of the lower clergy, and in particular the missionaries, were intense in their devotion to the faith, enduring disease, privation, violence and death, and counting it a singular joy to win the martyr's crown. On the other hand, the deficiency in vigor, morality and intelligence, which too often characterized the remaining members of their class, was assuredly not remedied by an intimate association with barbarism, whatever its degree.

Among the more advanced groups of natives, a polytheistic type of religion had reached an elaborate stage of development.

Under the direction of a priestly caste, beneficent deities were worshipped and malevolent spirits propitiated. These divinities were representative of animals, plants and other natural phenomena, and of various culture heroes, and were venerated usually in the form of idols.

Given the fact that intolerance and cruelty were characteristic of Europeans in general during the sixteenth century, it is safe to assume that none of their contemporaries would have behaved any better in America than the Spaniards did, if they had been exposed to similar temptations. On the whole it is surprising, perhaps, that the exhibitions of fanaticism, though bad enough, were no worse. Like the "conquistadores," the Spanish clergy had three motives in dealing with the natives. These may be summed up in "destruction, construction and instruction."

To the ecclesiastical mind of the time the idols, architectural monuments and other material evidences of heathen worship, were fabrications of the devil. Regardless, therefore, of the loss to the future antiquaries and archeologists of America, the clergy proceeded ruthlessly to destroy almost everything that they could find suggestive of the former cults. In some cases the pagan sanctuaries were purified and turned into churches and monasteries;

in others, the building material thus supplied was used for the same purpose. Yet it must not be forgotten that the largest amount of destruction was wrought during the period of the conquest, when martial energy was matched by clerical zeal. Most of the finer monuments, also, that have been preserved were erected centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, and were not in any sense the handiwork of the native peoples whom they actually encountered.

Whatever the attitude of the Spanish clergy toward the material side of heathenism, the natives personally were shown an incredible amount of mildness and forbearance in religious matters. They were to be indulged, it was said, "because of their ignorance and their weak minds." Never subjected to the terrors of the Inquisition, if the Indians persisted in practicing their ancient cults, if they refused to work, or ran away, or did not attend church, or were otherwise disobedient, they were whipped, or compelled to fast, or do penance or submit to some other form of ecclesiastical discipline. Only Christians, also, were allowed to inherit property.

Men like Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566), the famous "Apostle to the Indies," strove zealously to protect the natives against the rapacity of the rude adventurers of their time. It was the earnest, and somewhat

exaggerated, pleas of Las Casas on behalf of the West Indian islanders, which led in part to their replacement as laborers by negro slaves. His influence likewise contributed in large measure to the enactment of the humane legislation that became so marked a feature of Spanish colonial policy.

Both in spiritual and temporal concerns the clergy wished to act, not only as missionaries, but as schoolmasters and rulers among the Indians. "Unless one has over them all authority," wrote an ecclesiastic, "he has none, and if they are not held way under and subjected, they cannot be held in subjection at all." Nor did the clergy scruple to withdraw their native charges, whenever possible, from contact with the whites, regardless of the injury this procedure might cause to the maintenance of a civil administration applicable to all classes of the population alike.

Though legally forbidden to convert the aborigines by force, it was not uncommon, during the earlier years, for missionaries, accompanied by soldiers, to make what were called "entries" (entradas) and "conquests of souls" (conquistas de almas). Raiding an Indian village, they would carry off children and youths to be taught the Spanish language and instructed in the Catholic faith, thus enabling the neophytes to become useful as interpreters.

Beginning with the children who were taught the catechism, often in the form of rhymes, and extending the instruction to adults who learned how to read simple leaflets and manuals in their own language and later in Spanish, it became possible to admit Indians to the priesthood and to membership in monastic orders. An Indian nun, in fact, was even canonized as St. Rose of Lima. Ecclesiastical festivals (fiestas), moreover, and pilgrimages (romerías) to favorite shrines were organized, and doubtless had much influence in strengthening the hold of the Church on native thought, whatever may be said of the economic and social effects of the numerous holidays they furnished.

So far as the Indians themselves were concerned, some submitted doubtless because of compulsion, and others, as a matter of policy, the net result being an outward transference of allegiance from one faith to another, in recognition of the fact that the new one was the stronger. Imperfect acquaintance with the native vocabularies, the inaccuracy of interpreters, the lack of Indian words to express Christian thought, and the superficial character of much of the religious instruction, all lessened the value of the work of conversion.

While these drawbacks were more or less op-

erative throughout Spanish America, in some localities religious activity was so well adjusted to meet native conditions that, where defects existed, they were usually of another order. These localities were the areas of the mission stations, or "reductions" as they were called, in which communities of the more docile sort of Indians were "reduced," *i. e.* "led back" from heathenism, and brought to a knowledge and practice of Christian civilization. Most of the "reductions" were in charge of the Jesuits, and the ones best known were founded from 1608 onward among the Guaranís in the region of the present Paraguay.

The site of such a mission was chosen with reference to its fitness for farming industries and to its remoteness from the Spanish settlements proper. Here the seclusion enabled the Jesuits to develop a kind of theocratic communism which they considered needful for their purpose. Displaying a remarkable amount of tact, firmness and skill in the way they appealed to the imagination, aptitudes and intelligence of the natives, they produced a society at once obedient, industrious and prosperous.

Everything in the "reduction" was managed by the Jesuit "padres." In their villages, which were models of cleanliness and order, the neophytes, from the cradle to the grave, could have no thought for the morrow. As

children they were taken from parental care and brought up in charge of the "padres." When they reached a marriageable age, the young men and young women were saved any trouble as to choice by being stood up in opposite rows, and mated without further ado by pointing out to each Pedro his María. Under like direction they performed their daily tasks in the fields and workshops, stored the harvests in granaries, and received their rations of boiled barley and beans and their scanty articles of clothing.

Few vices could be found in such communities. Nor is it unlikely that in the long run the Indians profited by the systematic life to which they were subjected. But they could not progress beyond a certain point; and for whatever they received, they paid in the sacrifice of their liberty, their individuality and their initiative.

With the suppression of the Jesuit order in the second half of the eighteenth century, vanished many an Arcadia of this kind in the American wilderness. When not taken over by the Franciscans or Dominicans, the mission stations fell into ruins, and the neophytes lapsed into the rude conditions of former days.

In broad outlines the organization and work of the Church in Brazil resembled those in Spanish America, although on a much smaller scale and conducted in a less efficient manner.

Various monastic orders, also, and in particular that of the Jesuits, performed useful services among the natives, while striving to protect them against the slave-raiders. As the Spanish colonies had their Bartolomé de las Casas, so Brazil had its José de Anchieta (1533–1597).

CHAPTER VI

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC STATUS

Among the relatively civilized groups of aborigines, those of central Mexico were foremost in mental and artistic achievement. The only drawback throughout was that the Indian civilization had so flimsy a texture that it could not withstand the onslaught of a small body of Europeans.

Oblivious to any consideration other than that of religious fanaticism, the Spanish clergy treated the evidences of literary culture no less ruthlessly than they did those of a material sort. "We found a great number of their books," wrote one of the early ecclesiastics, alluding to the Mayas of Yucatán, "but because there was nothing in them that had not some superstition or falsehood of the devil, we burned them all, at which the natives were marvelously sorry and distressed." On this point posterity shares the feelings of the Mayas; yet the fact remains that, af-

ter the first fury of inconoclasm had passed away, it was the Spanish churchmen themselves who preserved many of the Indian traditions and relics from destruction. It is quite as true, also, that the areas of Spanish America in which the colonists made the greatest educational, literary and artistic progress were precisely those which had once been seats of native civilization, especially in the viceroyalty of New Spain.

So as to maintain obedience to the crown and the Church, any system of public instruction to be devised for the colonies had to be grounded on dogma and discipline, and organized primarily in the interest of a small and select class. Popular education was simply unthinkable, and intellectual freedom quite out of the question.

Of the scant amount of instruction offered to the youth of the New World under Spanish dominion, the best was given in the capitals of the viceroyalties, and in those of the more important provinces. Elsewhere it was apt to find but feeble support, if any at all. Some of the wealthier families, of course, sent their children to Spain to be educated.

When so desired, the sons and daughters of the upper classes, and even a few bright children of the lower orders of society, could attend monastic schools. Here they studied the three "R's," music, drawing, painting and, in

some degree, also, mechanical arts; but most of them were trained in little more than religious exercises. The Indians and half castes as a body were left altogether illiterate, except for such rudimentary teaching of a religious and industrial sort as they might receive at the mission stations. Where "colleges" (colegios) and other schools for secondary instruction existed, they were usually conducted by the Jesuits, more or less in preparation for entrance into the universities.

Twelve institutions of higher learning were founded in Spanish America during the colonial period, eight of them before the creation of the oldest university in the United States (1636). Of these the first in order of time and importance were the Royal and Pontifical University of St. Paul, in Mexico, and the Greater University of St. Mark, in Lima, both being established by royal decree in 1551. All of them were organized to some extent on the Spanish University of Salamanca as a model.

The general idea underlying the system of higher instruction was to equip young men for the priesthood and for the practice of the law. At the same time they received a somewhat ornamental education of a literary stamp, which would enable them to occupy a proper social station, while it disposed them all the more to uphold the Spanish rule.

Aside from defects in the educational arrangements, there were other obstacles in the way of intellectual growth. Among them may be mentioned the virtual isolation in which the colonies were kept from one another, as well as from the rest of the world; the absence of a reading public that might stimulate literary endeavor; the exercise of a rigorous censorship by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and by the Inquisition in particular; and the irksome difficulties attending the actual processes of publication and distribution.

The first printing press in the New World was set up at Mexico in 1535, more than a century before anything of the sort appeared in what is now the United States. Its earliest product, a tract entitled "A Spiritual Ladder by which to reach Heaven" (Escala Espiritual para llegar al Cielo), came forth in the following year, but no copies of it are known to exist. In Peru, the earliest issue of the press (1584) was a catechism in the Quíchua and Aymará tongues. By 1810 printing had been introduced into six other provinces as well.

In view of the fact that every local printer had to be licensed, the publications themselves subjected to a sharp censorship and the number of presses kept correspondingly limited, the output of printed matter in the

Spanish colonies was surprisingly large. On the other hand, the amount of material that remained in manuscript was far greater still. Some of the best of it, in fact, was not published until after the colonies had won their independence. The bulk of what actually secured publication consisted of religious essays and tracts, legal treatises, primers, grammars and dictionaries of the native languages, and works on history, ethnology, archeology, mining, mechanics, medicine, plant and animal life, and on various other natural phenomena. In the list, also, were included official announcements, news sheets, pamphlets descriptive of memorable events or on armorial bearings, and certain kinds of imaginative literature, such as poems and panegyrics.

Throughout the long list of authors in the colonial period the names of ecclesiastics, of course, predominated. Many of the contributions to history and ethnology were extremely valuable. Often verbose and monotonous, and reflecting the ignorance and credulity of the age, the narratives reveal, nevertheless, the existence of a patient accumulation of material which is altogether praiseworthy. To these accounts, in fact, ethnologists today owe much of what is known about the Indian civilizations.

In the lighter forms of literature, poetry

occupied the most conspicuous place. At contests held in the monasteries and "colleges" of Mexico, hundreds of poets at times are said to have competed for the prize of distinction over their fellows, even if their versification was rather crude. Some of the earlier historical writings, indeed, were poetical compositions.

The intellectual decline in the mother country, following the "Golden Age," was reflected in the colonies, up to the second half of the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, the accession of a member of the French royal house of Bourbon to the throne of Spain brought into Spanish life a measure of French influence. One of its forms appeared in the grant to distinguished foreigners of permission to visit the dominions in America. The travels and investigations of these men, in fact, constitute the stock sources of information about conditions in the colonies, as they stood in the later years of Spanish rule.

Gradually the influence of experimental science, of European learned societies, and even of the French liberal philosophy, began to percolate into the colonies, in spite of civil and ecclesiastical opposition. The work of Mexican astronomers won especial praise from European scholars. Nor was this the only encouragement to science. A school of surgery, a college of mining and a botanical gar-

den caused the city of Mexico, toward the close of the eighteenth century, to become widely celebrated for its learning.

Journalism, also, made some progress in the Spanish colonies. The first sheet that conveyed any "news" was a leaflet published at Lima in 1594, to satisfy a popular demand for information about the capture of an English pirate.

About 1620 these occasional leaflets telling of some special event began to appear in Mexico, as well as in Lima; but not until the first quarter of the eighteenth century did anything resembling modern newspapers come from the colonial press. Starting in Mexico in 1722, they were issued at irregular intervals as small quartos, single fold with four pages, and wretchedly printed on a poor quality of paper. When foreign intelligence was available, it appeared in the shape of belated despatches, or reprints from back numbers of Spanish newspapers, brought by the fleets.

Alternating between the names of "Mercury" and "Gazette," the two newspapers of Mexico and Lima led a rather spasmodic existence till 1784, when in the former city the issues became regular and eventually reached a semi-weekly edition. In both cases the sheets had an official cast, the contents giving facts and laws, but not opinions. Between 1729 and 1810 five provinces, in

addition to Mexico and Peru, had newspapers of a more or less brief existence.

Literary and scientific journals of an evanescent sort had been fairly numerous since the latter part of the seventeenth century. They bore such titles as "The Flying Mercury," "The Thinker," "The Literary Gazette," "Observations on Physics, History and the Natural and Useful Arts," "The Learned, Economic and Commercial Journal," "The School of Concord" and "The First Fruits of Culture."

Among the fine arts of colonial times, architecture attained the fullest development, and that mainly in its ecclesiastical form. Both church and state in the more important viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru, enjoyed revenues which enabled them to construct and adorn public edifices on a scale of lavish magnificence. Particularly was this the case in New Spain. The wealth of the country, its relative freedom from hostile incursions, and abundance of building material made it possible to perpetuate in mighty structures the dominance of the religious and political ideas of the time.

Sculpture and painting never attained in the Spanish colonies the luxuriance which distinguished the architecture of the time. Though incentives were abundant, their influence was nullified in large measure by a

faulty technique, and an almost slavish adherence at times to the examples of European masters, thus discouraging originality in conception and treatment. For the portrayal of the human form, also, good models could not be obtained, chiefly because of the opposition of the Church to studies in the nude. Few pieces of colonial sculpture had any merit. The best of them, perhaps, was a bronze equestrian statue of King Charles IV of Spain, set up in Mexico in 1803.

Since the Church was the great patron of art, it was natural that the vast majority of the frescoes and canvases produced should deal with religious subjects. Not only copies, but even the originals, of works by Spanish, Flemish and Italian masters were numerous in ecclesiastical buildings and in the homes of the wealthy, especially in New Spain. Murillo everywhere was the artist most revered, a primary source of inspiration for the majority of colonial painters. Frescoes too often suffered from the effects of humidity and earthquakes to be rated of much value.

Compared with the situation in Spanish America, the signs of intellectual and artistic progress in Brazil were not very encouraging. For this relative backwardness, the neglect of the home government, the huge size of the country, the influence of climatic conditions, and the special circumstances of a social and

industrial nature, which have already been sketched, were all more or less responsible.

On the larger plantations the priests sometimes taught the owner's children. In towns monastic schools were available. Secondary instruction was cared for principally by the Jesuits, whose "college" at Bahia gained a high reputation.

Although Brazil had no universities, no printing press before 1808, and no very worthy creation of trowel, brush and chisel till much later, the country felt, nevertheless, the quickening impulses that marked the closing years of the colonial régime. One of the manifestations of the new spirit was shown in the founding, chiefly in the southern provinces, of learned societies modeled after those of Europe.

Some of the Brazilian poets of the time gave more or less conscious expression, also, to the faint sentiment of nationality which was beginning to pervade the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. This they did, either by emphasizing the blend of the European and the native, out of which was to rise a new and independent nation, or by directing unfavorable attention to the ecclesiastical bulwark, on which rested much of the political dominion of Spain and Portugal in America.

PART II

THE REPUBLICS

CHAPTER VII

INDEPENDENCE

FEW movements in history have been so much misunderstood, few have displayed such a complexity of purposes and methods, and none has presented a stranger outcome than the series of revolutions, between 1810 and 1826, which destroyed the power of Spain on the continents of America. The struggle is best explained, perhaps, by regarding it from a threefold point of view: Spanish, Spanish-American and European.

In the first place, it was a fight between Spaniards of the New World and a conservative government of the Old World, which forbade liberty of thought and action at home no less than it did in the provinces beyond the seas. To the extent that Spanish soldiers obeyed the commands of this government, it was a fight between two groups of Spaniards, cherishing two sets of ideas and coming from two different environments. The one represented the mother country and autocracy; the other was imbued with the spirit of local in-

dividualism which had been brought from Spain to America, and there given new life and vigor.

From the standpoint of colonial conditions proper, the contest was a civil war between the men who wished to uphold the existing régime and those who desired to have it abolished. If independence were to be attained, it was necessary to overcome the resistance of the loyalists and the passiveness of the neutrals, who were far more numerous throughout than were the professional Spanish soldiers. Hardly a third of the population was interested in the struggle when it began. So long as the dominant classes, and in particular the clergy, were generally hostile or indifferent to revolution, and the great body of the Indians and half-castes, neutral or inclined to favor the home government, the chances of success were small. When the scanty strength of Spain was becoming exhausted, and certain European nations found it impossible to intervene on Spain's behalf, the social elements hitherto adverse to the cause of independence gradually lent it their support, and the issue was then decided.

But the most extraordinary phase of the whole movement is seen only in connection with lands and peoples entirely outside of Spanish America. From this viewpoint the wars of independence were an exotic, the

product of European ideas and institutions, substantially unknown both in Spain and in its oversea dominions, until brought thither as a result of conditions in Europe at large. They might even be called a phase of European rivalries transferred to America.

No matter how vigilant the watchfulness of the Spanish local authorities, in the second half of the eighteenth century a far more extensive knowledge of what was going on in the world crept into the colonies than had ever been acquired before. The works of such philosophers and historians as Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire and Robertson began eagerly to be read. European newspapers were used to wrap up cheese, fish and other commodities, and then smuggled in under the very noses of the inquisitors and their henchmen. After the Declaration of Independence of the United States was published, French translations of it soon found their way into Spanish America. Men who had traveled in Europe and in the first of the republics to be set up in the New World, also, came home to tell of what they had seen and heard.

To the force of the example of the United States was soon added the mighty influence of the French Revolution. Racial sympathy, no less than the methods of the revolutionists who overthrew an "ancien régime," sim-

ilar to that which existed in Spain, worked powerfully on the imagination of the Spanish Americans. When the movement in behalf of independence had fairly begun, therefore, "liberty, equality and fraternity" became watchwords, the "bonnet rouge," or liberty cap, an emblem, and masonic lodges, a useful instrument for revolutionary propaganda. The ideas and processes of political and social experimentation visible in the French Revolution and its aftermath were all imitated to a greater or less extent.

In 1808 France delivered the masterstroke that was to make the independence of continental Spanish America a certainty. When Napoleon forced the king of Spain to abdicate, placed his own brother Joseph on the throne and overran the country with his armies, he created a situation that was from every point of view extraordinary. In Spain the people refused to recognize the usurper and organized revolutionary committees (juntas), to direct the struggle for freedom and to govern in the name of their deposed sovereign, Ferdinand VII.

The issue in the colonies was far more complicated. Since the Spanish officials had received their mandate from a king who no longer ruled, they had no legal right to their positions, unless they accepted appointment from Joseph Bonaparte. This in gen-

eral they refused to do, and even went so far as to exclude his representatives when the latter tried to assume charge of the administration. Instead, they preferred to continue governing in the name of Ferdinand VII, and meanwhile to regard the "juntas," and later a regency that was set up, as the lawful authority in Spain.

On their part, the colonists either submitted to this arrangement, or proceeded to follow the precedent established in the mother country, with such modifications as local circumstances might suggest. The first course of action was the one commonly taken throughout the viceroyalty of New Spain and in the the province of Peru. In Spanish South America at large, however, the influence of foreign ideas usually prompted the intelligent classes to take matters more or less into their own hands.

The outcome of a paradoxical situation like this is not difficult to foresee. Friction, and even conflict, with the Spanish functionaries, who did not relish any deprivation of their powers, was inevitable. The same was true of the policy to be observed toward the people who might be dissatisfied with the régime provided for them, or alarmed at the tendencies that it was assuming. Above all, the enjoyment of practical autonomy, up to the time that Ferdinand VII was

restored to the throne in 1814, could only lead to revolt when that monarch revealed himself as a genuine Bourbon, incapable of learning anything or of forgetting anything. From revolution in behalf of liberal rule to revolution in behalf of independence, was an easy and natural step.

Long concerned in efforts to break down the commercial monopoly of Spain in the New World, Great Britain, on its part, was a self-interested advocate of Spanish-American freedom. In the revolt of the Spanish Americans it saw an opportunity to secure markets for its manufactures and capital, raw material for its factories and cargoes for its ships. Accordingly, while the government itself kept up a show of neutrality, representatives of the insurgents were welcomed to British shores; money, ships and munitions of war were provided, and British soldiers of fortune enlisted in the patriot ranks.

For reasons that are partially explained by the local situation and other circumstances already described, the three great centers from which the revolt against Spain spread throughout the Spanish territory in the two continents were found within the areas of the present Venezuela, Argentine Republic and Mexico. A stronger explanation still is afforded by the fact that Venezuela was the birthplace of Francisco de Miranda (1752–1816), the

chief pioneer of the movement toward emancipation, and of Simón Bolívar (1783–1830), the "Liberator," who, in addition to winning independence for his native land, assured it also to what are now Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia, and contributed powerfully to the freedom of Peru. In the Argentine Republic was born the most eminent patriot of the southern colonies. This was José de San Martín (1778–1850), who freed Chile from the Spanish yoke, and carried the war up into Peru as well. Indeed, the history of the entire struggle for independence in Spanish South America is contained largely in the biographies of these three men. On the other hand, Mexico, as the seat of power in Spanish North America, was the logical starting point of efforts to overthrow the Spanish dominion in that quarter.

By 1826, when the Spanish flag was finally lowered, eight new and independent states had arisen on the continents of America. These were: Paraguay, the "United Provinces of the River Plate," Chile, "Great Colombia," Peru, the United Mexican States, the "Central American Federation," and Bolivia. All of them, except Paraguay, which had once formed part of the "audiencia " of Buenos Ayres, and " Great Colombia," which corresponded to the viceroyalty of New Granada, were practically identical in area with "au-

diencias" and "presidencies" in the other viceroyalties, as they existed at the opening of the revolution. The two island colonies, Cuba and Porto Rico, remained faithful to the mother country; although in the case of Cuba, this attitude was due more to Spanish strength, perhaps, than to feelings of loyalty as such.

During the course of the struggle the people of the United States sympathized openly with the efforts of the Spanish Americans to win independence. Though the government professed neutrality, it did not always prevent ships from leaving American ports, laden with volunteers and supplies. Then, as it became evident that Spain could not regain its lost dominions, in 1822 the United States decided to recognize the independence of the Spanish-American republics.

Because of the disposition of Austria, Russia and Prussia, the chief members of the so-called "Holy Alliance," to intervene on behalf of Spain, the United States, in understanding with Great Britain, resolved to forestall any possible action of that sort. In 1823, accordingly, it put forth the "Monroe Doctrine," warning the nations of Europe that America was not to be regarded by them as a field for future colonization; that they must not extend their monarchical system to it, and that they must refrain from interfering in general

with the progress of the new republics. Great Britain followed, in 1825, with a formal recognition of Spanish-American independence; but Spain itself refused to take any step in that direction until 1836.

In the case of Brazil, the causes of separation from Portugal were similar to those already given for Spanish America, except that the struggle in the latter area furnished an additional incentive. The actual processes of withdrawal, however, and the general result of the operation, were quite different.

Driven from Portugal, early in 1808, by an invasion of the mother country by the troops of Napoleon, the royal court took advantage of an offer of transportation in British vessels to shift its residence to Brazil. Acting in accordance with British advice, also, João, the prince regent of the time, proceeded to throw open the ports of the colony to foreign trade, removed some of the burdens on industry, encouraged immigration, established a printing press and introduced a number of other reforms of a more or less liberal character. Further proofs of royal interest were furnished, in 1815, by raising Brazil to the rank of a joint kingdom with Portugal, and later by annexing what is now Uruguay, under the name of the "Cisplatine Province."

Fairly popular as these measures were, they did not serve to reconcile the colonists to

a continuance of Portuguese domination, or to prevent occasional uprisings. Most of the people felt that a big country like Brazil, endowed with enormous possibilities of development, ought not to submit any longer to the dictation of a weak little kingdom in Europe. Their conviction on the matter was strengthened by the arrogant behavior of the Portuguese who had followed in the wake of the court, by the spirit of unrest among some of the Portuguese troops who had become imbued with English ideas, and above all, by the doubtful sympathy of João, now king, with his own reforms.

So far then, as the desirability of separation from the mother country was concerned, opinions were substantially united. Regarding the kind of separation and the form of government to follow it, they were considerably divided. In the northern provinces a certain amount of sentiment was shown in favor of erecting a federal republic; but the prestige of monarchy, created by the long residence of the court, and the lessons, taught by the misfortunes of the Spanish Americans in trying to maintain stability in their republican system, prevented any notions of the sort from gaining acceptance in Brazil at large.

Aware of the indignation aroused by the menacing attitude of the mother country, Pedro, the prince regent, who had been left

in charge of Brazil when his father returned to Portugal, wisely resolved to put himself at the head of the movement for emancipation. In 1822, accordingly, he proclaimed the independence of Brazil, and assumed the title of emperor. Two years later, also, he granted a reasonably liberal constitution, not for actual use, but simply to gratify the desires of those who wanted it. The revolution thus had been accomplished practically without bloodshed, and Brazil started on its independent life with the best prospects of freedom from the disastrous conflicts that were harassing the Spanish-American countries.

Portugal, of course, was too feeble to do anything more than glower at its former colony. The "Holy Alliance" contemplated intervention, but was dissuaded from doing so by the opposition of Great Britain and the United States. Pressure from the British government, furthermore, induced Portugal to accept the inevitable, and, in 1825, it recognized the independence of Brazil.

Meanwhile, on the French island of Haiti, another state was being formed. Vastly outnumbering the white inhabitants, the negroes and mulattoes of Saint Domingue took advantage of the privileges of freedom and citizenship conferred by the French National Convention to rise in revolt under an able leader known as "Toussaint L'Ouverture."

When they finally triumphed, in 1801, a republic was set up with Toussaint as its president.

An army of 30,000 men sent by Napoleon attempted to regain control, and the havoc wrought by carnage and pestilence was frightful. After yellow fever had carried off untold thousands of the French soldiers, the warfare ceased. Thereupon, in 1804, the negro chieftain who had succeeded Toussaint in power informed his compatriots that with the approval of his generals, he had taken the title of emperor.

Upon a mass of people scarcely out of slavery the efforts of a few men of intelligence among the Haitians to better their unfortunate lot could make but little impression. Negro despots built huge fortified palaces, surrounded themselves with gaudy pomp and affected the manners of oriental potentates, while their subjects grovelled before them. Anarchy, violence and further degradation could be the only immediate heritage of such a past.

On the news of the French invasion of Spain, in 1808, Santo Domingo, the eastern portion of the island, in which the white remnant was larger, drove out the black master of the west, and again became a Spanish province. Thirteen years later it declared itself a republic, only to fall under the con-

trol of Haiti once more. Finally, in 1825, France agreed to acknowledge the independence of its former dominion.

CHAPTER VIII

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In its relation to their extent of territory, the population of the republics that had overthrown the rule of Spain was extremely small. Yet, despite the fact that negro slavery was soon abolished, and that earnest efforts were made to attract European immigration and capital, the Spanish-American countries were shunned for many years by these vital factors of progress.

Geographically and climatically the regions were less attractive than those of the English-speaking republic in North America, and besides, the facilities of transportation to the former were alike deficient and expensive. The tide of immigration set in toward the United States at a time when Spanish America was still under the colonial régime of exclusion, or was struggling in the throes of revolution. Both of these circumstances offered scant inducement to foreigners who wished to establish themselves in peace. The earlier immigrants, furthermore, coming as they did from the British Isles and from Germany, were not dis-

posed to seek their fortunes among peoples of a race-stock, of ideas, of religion and institutions, so different from their own. Nor was capital likely to go to areas in which political conditions were uncertain, unless it went in accordance with terms that imposed heavy obligations for the future to satisfy.

Bereft of political experience on a large scale, and lacking the education needful to dispel ignorance among the people in general, no less than to prepare them for the duties of citizenship, the Spanish Americans were bound to commit two grave errors. In some cases they practically continued the system of colonial times, by submitting to one or more of their own number, who either thought and acted for them, or else prevented them from thinking and acting for themselves. They relied, therefore, upon official agencies, in the forms of dictators and oligarchies, to carry on the work of administration, instead of upon the private initiative of the citizens themselves. In other cases they scorned legal methods entirely, and strove to do whatever local circumstances or personal inclination might suggest.

Though paper constitutions were numerous, they were promulgated often on the assumption that republics must have them. Theoretically they provided restrictions on the governing and liberties for the governed;

practically, the liberties were for the governing and the restrictions were for the governed.

Fifteen years or more of warfare, also, had developed among the Spanish Americans a blatant and aggressive militarism that had to seek an outlet for its ebullitions. A host of "caudillos," or partisan chieftains, came to the front, each of them claiming that considerations of honor, patriotism, progress and prosperity required that all power should be entrusted to him alone. These claims were set forth in bombastic proclamations, known as "pronunciamientos," denouncing the statements made and measures suggested by any opposing leader or faction, and promising a dazzling array of benefits that would follow the new régime, if established.

Some of these would-be saviors of their country were doubtless sincere and disinterested; others had few scruples to observe, so long as their personal ambitions could be satisfied. Civil convulsions, checked by dictators, and renewed struggles for stability when the dictators had been overthrown, were the logical outcome of such conditions until order and progress could be attained.

When the foreigner and his money came at last, it was only too often the case that

he had no intention of seeking a new home. Instead, he came to enrich himself and return to his own land. Most of the republics have been forced to rely mainly on their own natural increase in numbers, upon a process which, in view of the racial elements in their population, has not always worked to their advantage. It has been their lot at times, also, to undergo exploitation rather than development, to submit to the operation of forces from abroad which ultimately exhaust while they temporarily produce.

Throughout Spanish America the countries that have made the greatest progress in every respect have been precisely those which have received the benefits of foreign immigration and capital in largest amount. The fact goes far to prove that, whenever the republics shall have become peopled sufficiently, and have been afforded the financial means to develop their resources, material wealth itself will resolve many of the problems with which they have had to contend.

A study of these problems, moreover, leaves the conviction that most of what ought to be condemned has sprung from exceptional causes. Taking their respective disadvantages and misfortunes into account, the great majority of the countries have made

marked progress toward a higher and better stage of civilization. Each should be credited, accordingly, with the measure of success that has been obtained, and allowance made for many of the shortcomings that may still exist.

The history of the Spanish-American republics during the half century that followed their establishment as independent states may be roughly divided into two periods. Of these the first, extending up to 1852, coincided with the so-called "age of the dictators." In its earlier phases, and even while the revolutionary struggle was going on, it was a time of political philosophizing, of constitutional phrase-making and of processes of experimentation in the framing of governments, and in the adjustment of social conditions to suit the new régime of freedom. Roman names and institutions, or titles and usages borrowed from Napoleonic France, such as "triumvirates," "consulates" and "directorates," were especially popular in the most southerly group of republics; whereas Mexico, for nine months, even had an emperor. Efforts were made to induce European princes to accept thrones in Spanish America, and Bolívar himself, toward the close of his life, favored such a plan. Then, when the possibility of limited monarchy proved vain,

a republican system of some kind was definitely inaugurated everywhere.

Meanwhile the power of the dictator, the rule of the man whose sole guidance in action came from his own strength and discretion, was slowly making itself manifest. To explain the phenomenon, the theorizing and experimentation just mentioned, and even the military experiences bequeathed by the revolution against Spain, are not sufficient. It must be remembered that what the leaders of that movement had in mind was, not the establishment of a democracy of the Greek, French or American type, but rather an assurance that the classes already in control should be freed altogether from interference on the part of the mother country and its representatives.

Bolívar was still more radical in his views and aims. Discounting some of his earlier utterances evoked by the storm and stress of battle, he frankly did not believe that the people of the Spanish-American republics in his time were capable of self-government. If this were generally true of the white population, it was overwhelmingly the fact in the case of the Indian and mixed races. He was of the opinion, therefore, that the citizens of all classes could best acquire the knowledge and experience they needed for political education by having

them subjected to a wise and kindly, but firm and strong, dictator who derived his authority nominally from a constitution, but actually from considerations of expediency. His term of office should be a long one, preferably for life, and his powers should be correspondingly broad. Such at least was Bolívar's ideal, however impossible it might be of realization.

The political and social environment in which the dictator, whatever his official title, had to work, was made up chiefly of some nine elements which operated separately, or grouped themselves for joint action, as circumstances might suggest. Of these elements the first was the partisan leader, who represented his own aspirations, selfish or altruistic, and received support from a personal or local constituency. Adopting his ideas or plans, whether they understood them or not, his adherents commonly called themselves by his name, with the suffix "istas" added. Often, too, they displayed a particular color as an emblem, and their attachment to it was so fanatical as to become what a Spanish-American writer has aptly termed "monochromania." The other eight elements were parties or factions reflecting to a large extent similar groups in Europe, yet having some characteristics of their own.

Whatever the local designations chosen, as for example, the "Yorkinos," (York-rite men) and the "Escoceses" (Scottish-rite men) in Mexico, where freemasonry had been early introduced from the United States, the eight parties or factions in question may be classified somewhat as follows: the unitary, the military, the clerical, the conservative, the federal, the civilian, the lay and the liberal. In most cases the first four of these groups were allied against the last four, and vice versa; but the practice was far from being universal. Though many of their respective leaders had a clear conception of what they wanted, so much could not be said of the uneducated masses who submitted to their direction. Serving blindly in the ranks, they obeyed the orders of their superiors, shared in the enthusiasm of the moment, and hoped for promised benefits that they did not always obtain, even if their side were victorious.

The views of some of these groups require a word of explanation. The unitaries, for example, desired a system of government similar to that which prevailed in France at the time, with the monarchical element omitted. That is to say, they wished power to be centralized throughout, and to have the various provinces made into administrative districts, the chief officials of which

should be appointed by the central authority itself. In the federal ranks were marshaled the advocates of a form of government similar to that which had been established in the United States. The clericals and conservatives were inclined to bar the entrance of immigrants of alien faith, and regularly upheld the Roman Church in all its prerogatives and influence. On their part, the liberals were especially opposed to the control of that Church over public instruction, and over other matters of secular importance.

Out of the liberals, furthermore, came radicals, who demanded the separation of church and state, the abolition of traditional abuses, and the introduction of the reforms that the enlightened nations of the world had adopted, and of those which philosophers had declared to be imperative for the welfare of mankind. Belonging more or less to all the groups were the advocates of presidential authority over the congress, of congressional authority over the president, of the parliamentary system, and of other methods of government. Under such conditions stability and progress seemed almost impossible of attainment. Dictators were inevitable, and some of them were men of remarkable character and ability, whatever may be said of their merits or demerits in general.

During the period up to 1852 several noteworthy political changes occurred. In 1825 the "United Provinces of the River Plate" took the name of the "Argentine Confederation." Three years later, Uruguay secured its independence of Brazil. Between 1829 and 1831 "Great Colombia" broke up into the three republics of Venezuela, Ecuador and New Granada. In 1833 Chile, alone of all the republics of Spanish America, profited by their example to set up a régime practically free from dictators and insurrections. This was due chiefly to the fact that it was peopled by the descendants of Spaniards of the strongest and sturdiest type, and by the Araucanian Indians who had much the same qualities. Between 1838 and 1847 the "Central American Federation" fell to pieces, and out of it came the five little republics of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador and Costa Rica. In 1844 Santo Domingo threw off the rule of Haiti and set itself up as the Dominican Republic.

The second period in the history of national development in Spanish America, extending approximately from 1852 to 1876, may be characterized as "the struggle for stability." It was peculiarly the era of the partisan chieftain who had to contend with his rivals for supremacy. The old type of

dictator, however, still survived, and was represented in several cases by men of greater enlightenment than their predecessors had been. Although factional upheavals were frequent enough, a clearer understanding was obtained in regard to the meaning of constitutions, the methods of applying them and the necessity for the spread of education. Capital cities, like Buenos Ayres, Montevideo and Lima, in which the European population enjoyed some influence, had a considerable share in the process. The introduction of railways, the establishment of steamship and telegraph lines, and the increasing investment of European capital in other respects, helped to restore order and insure progress. Wars, also, with Spain and France, which checked further intervention on the part of those countries, turned to the ultimate advantage of the Spanish-American states. In general, the results of the period may be summed up in the partial triumph of the liberal, federalist, lay and civilian forces against their more or less reactionary opponents.

Within these twenty-four years New Granada changed its form of government from the unitary to the federal, and took on three successive names: the "Granadine Confederation," the "United States of New Granada" and the "United States of Colombia."

Venezuela, similarly, adopted the federal system, and called itself the "United States of Venezuela." Among the southern groups of countries the "Argentine Confederation" became, in 1853, the "Argentine Republic," and, along with Uruguay, began to devote itself assiduously to stock-raising and agriculture. By 1874 revolutions of a serious character had disappeared almost entirely from the former state. In Mexico, furthermore, under the efficient rule of Benito Juarez, a full-blooded Indian, peace was eventually secured, and the country prepared for the development of later years.

From the civil wars, the rule of dictators and the political unrest in general, which had disturbed so many of the republics of Spanish America up to 1876, Brazil, or Portuguese America, was practically exempt. Declining to adopt republican institutions for which they were quite as unfitted as their neighbors, the Brazilians wisely accepted the logic of their situation far enough to set up what was substantially a limited national monarchy with a parliamentary régime. This policy enabled them to tide safely over the transition from a foreign autocracy to a republican and federal system that they could adopt, whenever their knowledge and experience should have reached the point

when it was safe to discard the monarchical element altogether. Except for local insurrections of no very great importance during the first few years, the long reign of Dom Pedro II, from 1840 to 1889, was alike peaceful and progressive.

The period since 1876 has been marked by an extraordinary degree of progress in most of the countries of Latin America at large. Due chiefly to the stimulus of capital and immigration from Europe, and to a less extent from the United States, natural resources have been developed and the means of transportation and communication improved, far beyond anything known in the years preceding. These profound changes have brought with them social advancement, assured the triumph of a liberal régime, checked militarism, introduced orderly government, encouraged industry and commerce, and given a tremendous impulse to educational, intellectual and artistic endeavor.

In the various processes doubtless the most striking phenomenon is what may be termed "the rise of the great states," the attainment by certain countries of a position of distinct superiority over their fellows. The main features of it are determined in part by the extent and nature of the territory possessed, the climatic conditions,

the amount of resources utilized, and by the character of the population, as well as the degree to which it has increased in numbers. They are ascertained chiefly, perhaps, by the relative stability, progress, prosperity and power, alike material, moral and mental, which the various countries have shown.

According to tendencies or accomplishments of this sort, it is possible to make an approximate classification of the seventeen republics already existing in 1876, and of Brazil, Cuba and Panama, the three that have been added to them since that time. They may be arranged in three groups, depending upon the relative degree of advancement shown by the members of each. Some, of course, have progressed more fully in certain respects than the others have done, and the differentiation cannot be fixed absolutely in all cases. To the first group belong the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Costa Rica. In the second may be placed Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, Cuba, Salvador, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama. In the third category are found Guatemala, Ecuador, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua and Honduras.

Since the leading characteristics of the more recent development and of present conditions in the Latin-American countries

will be brought out in the descriptive chapters following the account of international relations, only a few incidents of especial importance remain to be chronicled. From 1876 to 1880, and from 1884 to 1911, when he was overthrown by a revolution and forced to quit the country, Porfirio Díaz, one of the most able and talented administrators of modern times, ruled Mexico with an iron hand, but gave it the blessings of peace and opened its wondrous resources to the world. Since then political convulsions and irregular methods of administration, like those of earlier days, have caused Mexico to fall away from the advanced position that it held so long. In 1886 the "United States of Colombia" changed its form of government from the federal to the unitary, and its name to the "Republic of Colombia." The most significant events in Brazil were the final abolition of negro slavery in 1888, and the establishment of a federal republic under the name of the "United States of Brazil," a year later, by the simple expedient of expelling the imperial family. Chile, in 1891, after an armed conflict between the president and the congress, put an end to what the latter feared was likely to become a presidential autocracy. Through the intervention of the United States, Cuba won its independence of Spain in 1898. Five years

later, the province of Panama seceded from Colombia, and became the twentieth republic in Latin America.

CHAPTER IX

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Among the Latin-American countries themselves, one of the chief matters of dispute has had to do with the determination of boundaries. During the colonial period practically no serious effort was made to fix any frontier lines among the various provinces, the result being that, after the colonies had won their independence, they were unable, for many years, to ascertain what their territorial limits were. Although boundary questions at times have almost brought on war, a great majority of them have been settled, either by diplomatic adjustment or by foreign arbitration.

Virtually the sole case in which an issue of disputed territory led to warfare was that concerning a small part of the west coast of South America. The difficulty arose originally in connection with the exploitation of deposits of nitrate of soda, found in the "Desert of Atacama." As the result of the so-called "War of the Pacific" (1879–1883), between Chile on the one side and

Bolivia allied with Peru on the other, Chile acquired possession of the coast area formerly belonging to Bolivia, and of the provinces of Tacna and Arica, which had been part of Peru. According to the treaty of peace, in 1884, it was agreed that Chile should hold Tacna and Arica for ten years, at the close of which period the question of ultimate ownership should be submitted to a popular vote in the provinces themselves. No solution of the problem has been attained since then, largely because the two countries have been unable to reach an understanding as to the way in which the vote should be taken.

Another serious source of contention among the Spanish-American republics has been the disposition of some of them to interfere in one another's affairs. On account of the essential similarity among them, it has often been possible to prepare expeditions in one state for the purpose of overthrowing the government of another. This has given rise to numerous collisions and to the creation of a sharp resentment, not so much between the peoples themselves, as between a president, whose position was threatened, and another president who might be protecting his enemy. Ease of alliance, furthermore, between the political parties of different countries has

been apt to make domestic politics a matter of international concern.

Although issues of the sort were found in the period immediately following independence, when the rulers of the Argentine Confederation, Brazil and Paraguay struggled for control over the destinies of Uruguay, and later, between 1865 and 1870, when Brazil, Uruguay and the Argentine Republic engaged in a frightful war with Paraguay, which killed off most of the male population of that country, the chief center of disturbance has been located in Central America. Both because and in spite of numerous efforts made to restore the federal system, the relations among the five little republics in this area have often been far from pleasant. The states usually involved in quarrels have been Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. Salvador has been less concerned in them, and Costa Rica, least of all. However, the holding of a peace conference at Washington, in 1907, under the auspices of the United States and Mexico, and the measures which have followed it, such as the establishment of an international court and of periodical conferences for the adjustment of matters in dispute, encourage the hope that such disorders will soon be a thing of the past.

In the diplomatic world at large the Latin-American republics appear to occupy

a somewhat anomalous position. As one of their own writers has recently observed: they are "situated on the margin of international life, in a zone where no one either denies or affirms their individuality." This fact became apparent soon after they had won their independence, and gave rise to a series of plans to provide for the republics as a whole an international representation that might inspire greater respect and confidence.

The earliest manifestation of an idea of this kind was the holding at Panama, in 1826, of a congress called by Bolívar to convince the nations of continental Europe that the republics of Latin America should be recognized as independent states. Though various attempts for the purpose of bringing the countries into closer political connection were made even as late as 1865, the Congress of Panama, in fact, was the nearest approach to a confederation that they have ever known.

That the Latin Americans should resent the attitude occasionally shown them by the great powers of the world is only natural, and is finding constant expression. In their opinion, size, numbers and wealth should not be regarded as alone entitling nations to due recognition. If they are equally sovereign and independent, they are equally

worthy of respect and consideration. Such being the case, the republics of Latin America should be treated by the great states of the world precisely on the same footing of mutual esteem as those states treat one another.

Assuming that what they assert as their national rights are respected, the Latin-American countries have been ardent exponents of the principle of international arbitration. The Argentine Republic and Chile have furnished the first and only example of the realization of the essential purpose underlying the meeting of the first peace conference at The Hague, by agreeing, in 1902, on a limitation of armaments. Thorough accord, also, resting in part on the basis of arbitration, exists among the three great states, the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Chile, and is revealed in an international understanding, popularly referred to as the "A, B, C Alliance."

Apart from the processes of adjusting a few boundary disputes between Great Britain and France, on the one side, and certain Latin-American countries the territories of which adjoin the colonial possessions of those powers, on the other, the international differences affecting the relations between the Latin-American republics and European states have had to do mainly

with two matters. These are: the attempts of such states to acquire territory or dominion at the expense of the republics in question, and the disputes concerning the settlement of pecuniary claims.

Taking advantage of the plight in which the United States found itself between 1861 and 1865, Spain proceeded to occupy the Dominican Republic, and to take possession of certain islands off the coast of Peru in the possible hope of reconquering that country. Though in 1865 Spain relinquished its hold on both of these areas, it became involved in a war with Chile and Peru in the following year, which ended in its discomfiture. From 1862 to 1867, also, the forces of Napoleon III of France controlled Mexico in the interests of what that monarch hoped would be practically an extension of the French Empire of the time, and left the country only after the United States had begun to mass troops on the Mexican border.

Most of the difficulties that have arisen between Latin-American countries and European nations, however, have been connected with efforts to settle pecuniary claims. From 1820 onward the republics have been large borrowers from European states, and from Great Britain in particular. Concessions, moreover, have been obtained by Europeans, which, because of disturbed

political and financial conditions, could not always be made effective. This has resulted in the non-payment of loans, in undue delay in the payment of principal and interest, in the personal injury of foreigners, or in the seizure or destruction of their property. Though all of the republics have been involved at one time or another in disputes of the sort, the lands in and around the Caribbean Sea, and of late years particularly Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras, have been the centers of conflict.

Since the constitutions of their respective countries usually grant to foreigners the same civil rights and privileges as those given to native born or naturalized citizens, Latin-American publicists hold that foreign nations are not entitled to demand that the procedure to be followed in case of dispute should be any different from that which those nations would observe as between their own respective citizens. That is to say, if a foreigner, residing or having interests in any one of the republics, suffers injury in person or property, he should make use of the same measures of redress as a native or naturalized citizen would, by appealing to the national courts. Were it proved that such courts, for any reason, could not, or would not, afford substantial justice, then,

and then only, should the foreigner have recourse to diplomatic intervention. If adjustment by this means should fail also, the final remedy ought to be sought for in arbitration. Force, according to the so-called "Drago Doctrine" of 1902, should never be employed among nations for the collection of contractual debts.

On his part, the concessionaire has often taken the stand that, in countries where the judges were controlled by the president or congress, or at all events did not enjoy judicial independence, the courts were obviously unable or unwilling to treat foreigners fairly. He would then appeal to his own government for redress. This has been secured, not only by means of diplomacy and arbitration, but by displays of force. Warships have been sent to overawe the offending countries, their ports have been blockaded, their vessels seized and their seaports bombarded. On rare occasions their ports and custom-houses have been occupied, but never for a great length of time, because of the fact that any action of the kind was regarded by the United States as a violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

With the Latin-American republics situated in general between the Rio Grande and the Amazon, the relations of the United States have been very different from those

which it has maintained with the countries lying to the south of the Amazon; and the circumstance goes far to show that these southern lands have had a much closer connection with Europe. While its relationship with the former group is marked by a number of striking events and decisive acts, directed throughout by a fairly continuous and steady policy, that with the latter group has been somewhat vague, intermittent and inconclusive.

The attitude of the United States in these respects has been determined chiefly by two considerations. Of these, one is the question of distance. With its neighbors around the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico the degree of intimacy, naturally, would be closer than in the case of those found to the southward. It might be said, also, that the communities located within this area, which have a population largely of Indian, negro and mixed descent, are not European in the sense in which the republics lying in the southern part of South America are.

Broadly considered, the relations of the United States with the republics of Latin America, and especially with those of the region lying to the north of the Amazon, have concerned the determination of boundaries, the prevention of filibustering, the acquisition of territory and the furnishing

of assistance in the formation of new republics. They have had to do with the protection of American citizens and their property, the preservation of order, the offering of mediation between belligerent countries, and the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. They have included, furthermore, the maintenance of headship among the independent nations of America, and the promotion of "Pan-Americanism"— the recognition of a similarity of problems and interests among those nations, which suggests coöperation for their effective solution.

Not considerations of the Monroe Doctrine so much as the desire and purpose to maintain its political preponderance in the Western Hemisphere, to promote its commercial aggrandizement, and to strengthen throughout the Latin-American countries a sense of inter-American solidarity, have shaped the major part of the policy of the United States toward them, more particularly in recent years. To these several ends, notably in the Caribbean region, it has acquired naval stations, and has negotiated for others. It has asserted its right to sole ownership in any waterway to be constructed between the two oceans.

In that region and even farther to the southward, the United States has intervened in the internal affairs of Latin-American

nations, to maintain order, to insure fair elections, to rehabilitate finances, to enforce rules of sanitation and to investigate reports of ill-treatment of Indians. In fact, it has introduced into supposedly independent and sovereign states a kind of political tutelage unknown elsewhere in the world.

So as to promote the idea of "Pan-Americanism," the United States inaugurated, in 1889, what is known officially as the "International Conference of American States," and popularly as the "Pan-American Conference," composed of delegates from all of the independent nations of the New World. With the coöperation of the Latin-American republics, also, it established at Washington, in the same year, an international office, now called the "Pan-American Union," for the diffusion of information that would tend to tighten the bonds of friendship among them. Although the conference in question is an assembly of deliberation and proposition only, the conventions and resolutions, which it has passed at its periodical meetings since 1889, have been framed with the purpose of suggesting to the governments of the countries concerned a course of action on given points, which might be helpful in solving many of the difficulties that confront the process of advancement toward national welfare.

CHAPTER X

GEOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES

The twenty republics of Latin America stretch over an area of nine million square miles, or approximately three times that of the United States. Brazil alone is larger than that country, and the Argentine Republic nearly two thirds as large. Bolivia and Venezuela could each contain two states the size of Texas, and have plenty of room to spare; Chile, two the size of California; and Ecuador, all of New England, plus New York and New Jersey. Mexico is seven times as large as Italy. Two German Empires could be put into Colombia, and France, Austria-Hungary and the German Empire, also, into Peru.

Among the smaller countries, the three island republics together are almost as large as the State of Minnesota, and Uruguay is about equal in area to North Dakota. The six Central-American republics, including Panama, taken together, are not far from double the size of Great Britain and Ireland; and Paraguay is nearly twice as large as England, Wales and Scotland combined.

Brazil occupies more than half of the continent of South America. It stretches along the Atlantic seaboard nearly 6,000 miles,

and its frontiers touch those of every South American country with the exception of Chile. Though Chile is about 3,000 miles long, it has an average breadth of scarcely seventy miles. Bolivia and Paraguay are the only republics that lie wholly inland. Salvador, the smallest of the Latin-American countries, is about one half the size of Switzerland, and is the only state of Central America which does not reach from ocean to ocean.

The continent of South America itself extends some 2,600 miles to the eastward of New York, and the southern part of it, on the Atlantic side, lies practically as near to Europe as it does to the United States. The vast interior, covering possibly two million square miles, has yet to be fully explored.

Though the island republics are provided with excellent harbors, so much cannot be said of the shores of the Caribbean Sea in general. Along the entire circuit of this "American Mediterranean," a distance of 12,000 miles, or nearly half the circumference of the globe, roadsteads exposed to fierce gales are the rule, and even Vera Cruz is far from safe. The best ports of Mexico, in fact, are found on the Pacific side. Along the west coast of South America most of the harbors are also very poor,

though much has been done of late years to render the Chilean port of Vaparaiso safer and more commodious than it formerly was.

Good harbors on the Atlantic coast of South America are quite numerous. That of Rio de Janeiro is probably the finest and most beautiful in the world. Buenos Ayres, though a river port, has been made of great value through an elaborate system of stone docks, and Montevideo has been much improved by a series of extensive harbor works. Landing facilities, as a rule, throughout the Latin-American countries, are incomparably better on the Atlantic seaboard than they are on the Pacific side.

In the island republics, in Mexico and in the states of Central America the climate at sea level averages 80 degrees in summer and falls to 72 degrees in winter. Costa Rica is probably the healthiest tropical country in Latin America. Throughout the region lying between central Mexico, on the one part, and northern Chile, the Argentine Republic and southern Brazil, on the other, climatic conditions are determined by altitude rather than by nearness or remoteness to the equator. In the mountainous areas, which here predominate, exclusive of most of Brazil, the zones of temperature are arranged more or less in vertical order,

and may be described as the hot, temperate, cold and frigid. Above the altitude of about 8,000 feet, mountain-sickness ("soroche" or "puna") is not uncommon.

Since latitude is neutralized by elevation, many of the plateaus in what are ordinarily regarded as tropical countries have a delightful climate, corresponding in temperature to the spring and autumn of the temperate zone; and the extremes of winter and summer are practically unknown. The alternating seasons, following the regular course of the sun, are determined by the varying degrees of moisture and dryness, rather than by those of heat and cold. The wet seasons are the summers, and the dry seasons the winters. Were one to stand on the equator and then go up into the mountains one mile, the temperature and the vegetation found there would be substantially the same as those of regions 1,500 miles due north or south of the equator, and if two miles upward, about the same as those prevalent in areas 2,500 miles north or south of that line.

With the exception, therefore, of the lands lying along the sea coast and of the central portion of South America, notably of parts of Brazil, the climate of the Latin-American countries situated between the two tropics is not universally hot, or even warm. In

the far southern part of South America it ranges from temperate to cold. South of the equator, of course, the seasons are more or less the reverse of what they are to the north of that line; so that when it is summer in New York, for example, it is winter in Buenos Ayres.

The Atlantic slopes of Latin America, exposed to the eastern trade winds, have a rainfall about double that on the Pacific side. On the shores of the republics lying north of South America, also, the tides vary considerably with the seasons. At Panama, for instance, on the Pacific side, they are much higher than they are at Colôn on the Caribbean-Atlantic side. On the former they are about as high in feet as they are on the latter in inches.

In South America the trade winds, setting steadily from east to west, sweep up the valley of the Amazon till they encounter the eastern slopes of the Andes. Here the moisture-laden clouds discharge most of their contents in rain or snow. As they progress still farther westward across the plateaus and summits, the winds become cold and dry, and hardly a drop of rain falls along the central portion of the west coast. In this area moisture in the shape of a very humid fog or vapor furnishes the rather scanty vegetation with a certain amount of

nourishment during the winter season, from May to December.

Taking the republics of Latin America as a whole, the conditions of health are far better than is commonly supposed. Though yellow fever, malaria and contagious diseases are found at times in the tropical areas, the vigorous campaigns carried on against the mosquito and other agencies of infection have shown very gratifying results. Among the poorer classes, however, in the crowded sections of the cities and in many of the country districts, ignorance of the elementary principles of hygiene is often productive of a high death rate, especially in the case of children less than five years of age.

In the island republics the surface of the land ranges from hilly to mountainous. On the continents, all the way from Mexico to the Straits of Magellan, runs a series of mountain chains, breaking up in the extreme south into numerous islands. The mean altitude of the Andes, the giant range that forms the backbone of western South America, is about 14,000 feet, and, next to the Himalaya, is the loftiest range in the world. Its higher peaks rise between 15,000 feet and 23,000 feet above sea level. South of Venezuela and in the eastern and southern areas of Brazil, the various mountain ranges are considerably lower, their mean altitude in

the latter country being anywhere between 4,000 and 5,000 feet.

In Mexico, Central America and northwestern South America there are hundreds of volcanoes, active and extinct, disposed either in groups or in a long lineof cones and craters. Ecuador, in particular, has a veritable "avenue of volcanoes," the magnitude and sublimity of which are probably unequaled in the world. Throughout this region, and even southward into Chile, where the smoking mountains, for the most part, have been long since quiescent, earthquakes are apt to be frequent.

Vast table-lands stretch over central Mexico and over the countries of northwestern South America. In Bolivia they are surpassed in extent and altitude only by the plateau of Tibet. Here and elsewhere in the mountain areas are found some of the most loftily situated capitals in the world. The scenery, especially in the valley and tableland of Mexico, is wondrously beautiful and picturesque.

In the central portion of the Argentine Republic are found the vast, almost treeless, grass-grown plains, known as the "pampas." Eastward through Uruguay and southern Brazil the land becomes rolling, but has much the same sort of vegetation.

Few of the republics are provided with

lakes of any size. Those of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mexico, the southern part of Chile, the Argentine Republic and Brazil are noteworthy; but none of them compares with Lake Titicaca on the heights of Bolivia. The loftiest body of water in the world, it lies upward of 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, and covers an area of 3,300 square miles, or somewhat less than half the extent of Lake Ontario.

Except for the Rio Grande, forming part of the boundary between Mexico and the United States, and the Colorado, which penetrates for a short distance into Mexico also, none of the Latin republics of North America has any large rivers. Most of the rivers, in fact, are merely coast streams with short, rapid courses, and are unfit for navigation.

In South America the situation is altogether different. Here are many mighty rivers, such as the Amazon, the Paraná, Paraguay and River Plate system, the Orinoco and the Magdalena. Brazil, in particular, is covered with a vast intricate net-work of streams, most of which are affluents of the Amazon. The drainage area of this river and its tributaries extends over 2,970,000 square miles, and the volume of water that they discharge annually into the ocean is probably five times as much as that

of the Mississippi. Vessels of small draught can go up the Amazon proper more than 3,600 miles. The river system, as a whole, furnishes about 27,000 miles of navigable waterways. Despite the fact that the affluents, in many cases, are obstructed by rapids and falls, it affords the most elaborate and economical means of transportation to be found anywhere in the world.

The drainage areas of the Paraná, Paraguay, River Plate and Uruguay amount to about 1,200,000 square miles, and by the Paraguay vessels can navigate clear up into the very heart of Brazil. The estuary of the River Plate, formed by the junction of the Paraná and the Uruguay, pours out more water into the ocean than any other river in America, except the Amazon. Next in order comes the Orinoco, with a drainage area of 364,500 square miles, and the Magdalena, the fourth largest river in Latin America, along with its numerous affluents, drains about 100,000 square miles. In the extreme south of the southern continent lies still another waterway, the Straits of Magellan, which have a total length of 340 miles.

All of the republics possess streams, the falls and rapids of which make possible the use on a large scale of hydro-electric plants to supply power. In this source of energy

Brazil stands foremost, especially in the southern part of the country. The falls of the Iguazú, for example, flowing into the upper Paraná, range over an area of more than two miles, with a total fall of 320 feet; and there are many others of tremendous volume.

In the island republics, indigenous animals, reptiles and birds are few in comparison with those of the neighboring mainlands. Mexico is a region of transition between the northern and southern continents; but here, as well as in the countries of Central America, the variety of birds and reptiles is almost as large as that of the tropical areas in central South America. One of the most beautiful of the birds is the quetzal of Guatemala, a species of parrot. A bird of freedom, it never survives captivity, even when taken during early life. In Aztec times its plumage was reserved for royalty.

In the mountainous regions of western South America are found several species of the "American camel." These are the llama, vicuña, alpaca and guanaco, which supply an excellent quality of wool. Here, also, flying over the Andean heights is found the condor, or so-called "South American eagle," a huge bird resembling the vulture.

Brazil and the areas of the Spanish-American republics immediately bordering

on it teem with animal life of extraordinary variety, including the jaguar, and other members of the feline tribe, the ant-eater, the tapir and the peccary, reptiles of nearly every description, and huge snakes. Monkeys are well-nigh innumerable. Among them is the sociable order of howling monkeys, who perform their musical feats under the direction of a chief howler. Almost one sixth of all the birds of the world are found in Brazil alone. Here, also, are countless varieties of insects, venomous and otherwise; and more than 1,800 species of fish swim in its rivers and lakes.

When estimating the value of the natural resources of the Latin-American states, one must take into account certain obstacles that lie in the way of their development. There are vast stretches of waste land, especially in the mountainous areas; and in the tropical sections there are huge swamps and miasmic forests as well. The resources, furthermore, are often inaccessible because of poor facilities of transportation. If railways were to be built, the engineering difficulties presented at times would make the construction so costly as to destroy the possibility of ultimate profit. Despite these obstacles, the wealth in mines, forests and soil is astounding, and even now is only just beginning to be made useful to mankind.

Though practically all of the republics are rich in mineral substances, Mexico, Colombia, Bolivia, Chile, Peru and southern Brazil are the chief mining centers. Mexico is noted for its silver, copper, iron, petroleum, precious and semi-precious stones and gold; Colombia, for its platinum and emeralds; Bolivia, for its tin, silver, copper and bismuth; Chile, for its nitrate of soda, copper, salt, sulphur and coal; Peru, for its silver, copper and petroleum; and southern Brazil, to a much less extent, for its diamonds, gold, iron and coal. Among the republics of Central America, Honduras contains probably the largest mineral deposits. Venezuela is richly stored with asphalt. Many of the states, particularly Mexico and Peru, are supplied with excellent mineral springs.

So far as forest products are concerned, nearly every country of Latin America abounds in trees of the most varied utility. Mahogany, rosewood, ebony and other cabinet woods, and timber of extraordinary hardness and durability, are scattered through the tropical areas. Brazil, however, is the one that possesses the richest and most beautiful flora.

From Latin America probably more economic plants and vegetable substances in general have been derived than from any

other quarter of the globe. Vast quantities of rubber are available in western and northern Brazil, in the adjoining areas of the Spanish-American republics, such as Peru, Colombia and Bolivia, and in Mexico, where numerous substitutes for it, like "guayule," have also been discovered. Tropical fruits of every sort, sugar-cane, tobacco and cotton are profuse in their distribution, Cuba alone being the greatest producer of sugar-cane in the world. The same is true of several of the "beverage plants" of the commoner sort, like the coffee of Brazil, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Colombia and Mexico; the cacao of Brazil, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela and Haiti; and the "yerba," or Paraguay tea, of that country and the neighboring districts of the Argentine Republic and Brazil.

Vegetable silk (Paraguay); coca (Bolivia and Peru), from which cocaine is made and the leaves of which are chewed by the natives to relieve fatigue; gums, resins and oleaginous plants in general, sarsaparilla, cinchona bark, which is the source of quinine (Peru and Bolivia); "Peruvian" balsam (Salvador), dye-woods, ivory nuts (Ecuador and Colombia), from which buttons, gaming-counters and the like are manufactured; and "chicle" (Mexico) which is the chief ingredient in chewing gum, are among the

vegetable substances that grow in great profusion. To them may be added "henequén" and "ixtle" (Mexico), which are fibrous plants useful in the manufacture of cordage; the vanilla bean; "maguey," a generic name for some thirty-three species of cacti (Mexico), which provide food, drink, and clothing for the poorer folk; "toquilla" (Ecuador), the straw from which Panama hats are made; many varieties of spices, breadfruit, manioc, yams, Brazil nuts, essential oils for the manufacture of perfumery, and the wax-palm (Brazil), extraordinary in the number of its uses.

Cereals of every description flourish in the temperate and sub-tropical areas of all the Latin-American republics, and cattle, sheep and horses thrive on their grassy savannas; but the great agricultural and grazing areas lie in southern South America. Here the Argentine Republic is easily foremost. Out in the "camp," as the open country is called, lies an absolutely enormous expanse of fertile land yielding alfalfa, and other forage grasses in practically unlimited quantities, a region in which the mild climate enables cattle, sheep and horses to live in the pastures throughout the year. Uruguay, its little neighbor to the eastward, is also famed for its cattle, though agriculture is encroaching on the grazing grounds.

The same is true in a measure of southwestern Brazil. In Chile and the western part of the Argentine Republic the vine is cultivated with great success.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

In Latin America the larger republics, and a few of the smaller ones, are more thinly settled for their areas than any other part of the world, and their growth of population has been proportionately less rapid. Were Brazil as densely peopled as Belgium, it would contain more than all the inhabitants of the earth. Salvador, on the other hand, though the tiniest of all the states, is the most populous for its size.

In most of the countries statistics of population, whenever obtainable at all, are quite unreliable. Outside of the Argentine Republic, Chile and Uruguay, where the figures are fairly accurate, the census is not taken regularly, or with the same degree of care, as in the United States and the principal countries of Europe. Expecially is this true of the republics in which the Indian, negro and mixed population is large, and in which the material conditions are comparatively backward. Here many of the people of that

order are afraid of possible taxation and military service; accordingly they either run away from the census-taker, or else refuse to answer his questions.

These are not the only difficulties in the way of enumeration and classification. On account of the practice of giving census returns for townships (comarcas), which often comprise extensive rural districts, it is not always easy to ascertain the precise population of cities and towns as such. Nor is the census-taker usually careful to distinguish among fine, transitional types of race. The expression "white," as employed in the official language of the returns, is apt to have a rather elastic interpretation; so that, even if the white strain is very small, the individuals concerned may be listed as "white."

According to the way in which the nations of the world are now constituted, a fairly clear indication of their economic circumstances is given in most cases from the proportion of urban to rural population. Taking the Latin-American states as a whole, the number of inhabitants found in cities and towns, as the centers of trade and industry, is small in comparison with the number of people scattered over the rural districts. In part this is due to vastness of territory and in part to the large number of Indians, often distributed in small tribal

groups over the rural areas; in some measure, also, to the undeveloped condition of manufacturing interests, and the consequent lack of a numerous working class. During recent years, however, particularly in the Argentine Republic, the shift from the country districts to the towns has become very marked. Mexico and Brazil are the two countries that contain the greatest number of large cities and other municipalities.

All of the republics display a tendency to concentrate a very considerable percentage of their population, wealth and culture in the national capitals. Yet the countries where this threefold concentration is most evident are among the ones relatively the most advanced. Buenos Ayres, for example, contains about one fifth of the entire population of the Argentine Republic, and Santiago, approximately one eighth of that of Chile.

Though modified in some measure by immigration from Europe, and to a much smaller degree from the United States and Asia, an essential similarity, of course, exists among the peoples of the various republics. Differences there are, but on the whole they appear to be of less import than those found between the inhabitants of one province and another in some of the European countries. Properly speaking, there is no race question in Latin America, because

from the colonial period onward the ethnical elements have tended to become merged into a new division of mankind.

In Spanish America at large the three main elements, Indian, European and negro, are fused, in varying proportions, into dominant nationalities of Spanish speech and culture, with the white factor in the ascendent. Here and there, as for example in Peru and Bolivia, the amalgamation is far from complete, but it is steadily advancing. Even if difficult at times to distinguish between full-blood and half-caste natives, it is fairly safe to assume that the whites are holding their own, that the half-castes are increasing, and that the Indians proper are either falling off, or else becoming merged into the general population.

Negroes and mulattoes constitute practically all of the inhabitants of Haiti. They form a great majority of the population, also, in the Dominican Republic and a very appreciable percentage of the dwellers along the coasts of the Central-American countries and the southern coast of the Caribbean Sea.

While it is not altogether correct to say that the farther south one goes in Latin America the whiter the population becomes, the generalization is true so far as southern South America is concerned. In the northern

group of republics, Cuba, and, to a less extent, Costa Rica, are the only ones in which the white element is large, though the former has many negroes and mulattoes and the latter a considerable number of Indians and "mestizos." In the Argentine Republic, Chile and Uruguay, the whites constitute the vast majority of the population. What there is left of the Indians (possibly 130,000 in Chile and 50,000 in the Argentine Republic) is in course of elimination; but here, as also in Uruguay, it is not unusual to find men of Indian features employed as soldiers, policemen, firemen and laborers.

In Brazil, the three elements, white, negro and Indian, are merged into a Portuguese-American nationality; but they are confined mainly to the Atlantic States, between the mouth of the Amazon and the city of Rio de Janeiro. From the southern area of the country the negro element is largely absent, and the Indians there, also, are tending to disappear with the strengthening of the whites by immigration from Europe.

As the Indian and negro blood in this part of Brazil lessens before the tide of immigration, a new ethnic division in Latin America may arise. Situated in a fairly temperate region, one fourth the size of Europe, a South European stock, capable of almost

unlimited expansion, is in process of formation. If united at some time in the future with the European population of like character found in the three Spanish-American republics to the westward, it may become to constitute a power of the first importance.

So far as European immigration into the various republics is concerned, though still insufficient, it is increasing with especial rapidity in the southern countries. Among the newcomers, outside of those from Spain and Portugal, the Italian predominates. Then come in order the German, the French, the English and a small number of other nationalities. Immigration is often fostered directly by the governments, which are disposed to grant very favorable conditions of transportation and maintenance, in addition to supplying lands, livestock, implements and the like.

One may readily understand that the Italian, the Spaniard, the Portuguese and the French would blend easily with peoples, like themselves, of Latin origin. The Italian and the German, also, are to be encountered almost anywhere that foreigners are apt to go; but their drift is toward the southern republics of the temperate zone. The Italian forms a very considerable element in the population of the State of São Paulo, Brazil, in the population of Uruguay, and especially

in that of the Argentine Republic. The German is found chiefly in the far southern State of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, and in southern Chile.

Of the several European colonies, those of Latin stock are naturally the most popular and influential, and the German is not far behind them. The Latin immigrants, as a rule, put their fortune into the country of their adoption, identify themselves with it, and their children become its citizens. The Italians furnish the necessary labor in cultivating the ground and reaping the harvest, in the opening of highways, the construction of railways, the building of cities, and in the giving of material form in general to wealth and civilization. So marked has been their influence on the languages of the countries in which they are most numerous, that the lower classes often speak a patois of Spanish or Portuguese and Italian. The immigrants from Spain and Portugal commonly become small shopkeepers. On the other hand, the influence of the French is visible in connection with thought, art and fashion; theirs is a force to embellish life on its social side, for their number is too small to affect appreciably the size of the population.

In the Argentine Republic the inhabitants are less homogeneous than elsewhere

in Latin America. Being peculiarly a "land of promise" for the European immigrant, it has had great difficulty in merging the newcomers with the residents of Spanish origin into a single nationality. In many places the immigrants are massed in ethnic communities where they speak their own languages, observe their own religious customs, maintain their own usages and keep socially aloof from the Spanish-speaking people.

As the Germans have contributed comfort, sobriety, solidity and methodical habits in business, so the English and the Americans, though few in number, as compared with some of the other classes of immigrants, have aided the development of national wealth by their capital, aroused a liking for sports and imparted a tendency to cherish the practical side of life. Unlike most of the other immigrants, or temporary residents, they do not readily assimilate with the native population. Americans, of course, are found particularly in Mexico, the Central-American states and Cuba. The English go preferably to the southern republics in South America, but they are apt to be almost, if not quite, as ubiquitous as the Germans. British and German names are very prevalent among those of the leading families in Chile.

The use of the English language, also, is

making rapid headway everywhere in Latin America, and the growth of English influence is more or less commensurate with it. The "word of an Englishman" (palabra de inglés) is proverbial; bonds and other financial securities are jocularly referred to as "ingleses" (i. e., Englishmen), and all the native of Albion needs, in order to be identified, is to "wear a sandy mustache and have a W in his name." In these distinctions, also, the American is coming to have a share.

Several of the republics, and in particular Brazil, encourage immigration from Japan. Along the northwest coast of South America, and at various points in Mexico and in the countries of Central America, Chinese, as well as Japanese, have established themselves. In many cases the Chinese were originally coolies imported to work on the plantations; but not a few of them have since become shop-keepers and herb-doctors (herbolarios). So far as Brazil is concerned, the Japanese have been imported under government contract to labor on the coffee plantations and to devote themselves to rice culture.

Much of what has been stated as to the condition of the Indians in colonial times applies to their present situation. In all of the continental republics, except some of those in southern South America, they may be divided roughly into the wild (bravos),

who live as more or less independent tribes, and the relatively civilized (mansos), who dwell in fixed settlements, profess the Roman Catholic religion and speak the European language of the country, as well as their own native tongue. Though head-hunting still survives in a few places, the existence of cannibalism, so frequently asserted, is very dubious. The story of the answer given by an alleged South American cannibal, in reply to a query as to why he ate his dead relatives, that he thought it was better for them to be inside of a warm friend than to be buried in the cold earth, savors strongly of a traveler's yarn.

Though it is popular in many parts of Latin America to ascribe numerous special virtues to Indian ancestors, the whites are not always so sentimental in their attitude toward the Indians personally. In the case of the more educated and distinctly ruling class, the feeling of social repulsion toward them is about as marked as it was in colonial times, even if much is being done for their education and general welfare. Hardly regarded as a member of the body politic, except in the language of the constitution, which recognizes his freedom of status as a citizen, and except that, when able to read and write, he is apt to receive greater consideration, the Indian exercises little influence,

as a rule, on the government and destiny of the nation of which he forms part.

Among the picturesque social types of a somewhat higher order are the cowboys, of white and Indian blood, known in the Argentine Republic as "gauchos," in Venezuela as "llaneros" and elsewhere commonly as "vaqueros." Avoiding the cosmopolitan life in the towns, their habitat is the plains. Fearless riders, dexterous in the use of the lasso and knife, they have given a novelesque character to the songs and stories of adventure. Half savage, ruthless, melancholy and taciturn, fond of personal adornment in the shape of coin-studded belts and silver spurs, they have shed a glamour of romance around their lives. With the advance of immigration, however, with the spread of agriculture and, incidentally, with the use of barbed-wire fences on the cattle-ranches, they will soon become a figure of the past in many a section of country where they were once so numerous.

Except possibly in Salvador, social and political power in the Latin-American republics is seldom in the hands of what in other lands would be called the "middle class"; although in states like the Argentine Republic, Chile, Uruguay, Cuba and Costa Rica, a tendency in that direction is growing constantly stronger. At the top of the

social scale stand the great landed proprietors, the "hacendados," "fazendeiros" and "estancieros," the owners of plantations and cattle-ranches. Constituting a sort of aristocracy, and perpetuating in a measure the colonial tradition, the members of this class often exercise a more or less feudal authority over the dwellers on their huge estates, and are disposed to look upon France, and, in a much less degree, Spain or Portugal, as their real home, the center of pleasure, fashion and ideas. Then come the lawyers, engineers, physicians, journalists and other professional men, whose tastes and interests are far more closely allied with the order just named than with the views and practices of the great mass of the people below them. These are the men who more commonly have the actual control of affairs. Foreigners, as such, seldom exercise any political influence.

In many cases these great landed estates are a peril to liberty and an obstacle to progress. They arose out of colonial grants and of liberal donations made on various occasions in the period following independence. Often practically free of taxation, they are held by rich families who will not subdivide them, and are even directed at times by overseers acting as the representatives of the absentee owners. Some of these estates are as large as European countries. On

them fabulous numbers of cattle are raised, and incredible amounts of agricultural produce brought forth, the whole being cared for by a veritable army of laborers. Though exemplified notably in Mexico, illustrations of such concentration of property are found elsewhere also.

Since poor men cannot acquire farms, they are forced to work on these estates. In the republics where the Indians are numerous the wages of the "peones," or common laborers, are often ridiculously small, and may consist in scarcely more than food and drink. Living in hovels, and perhaps allowed to cultivate little clearings of superfluous rocky ground, the "peones" cannot be sure of even these holdings, and have suffered eviction when their little property has been sold against their will.

Because the "peones" are apt to be improvident, they easily fall into debt. When they are unable to meet it, the indebtedness is made a charge upon the members of their families, the children being forced to inherit it. In areas, also, where revolutionary outbreaks are more or less frequent, unscrupulous leaders persuade the "peones" to desert their work altogether, by promising to pay off their debts, if they agree to join the insurgent bands. Nor is it uncommon in these, and other backward sections, for a local

governor (jefe político) to have the laboring force of the district quite completely at his disposal. Accordingly, if a planter wants field-hands to help gather in his harvest, he must first cross the palm of that individual, otherwise he will get none, and may even lose those he already has.

Unless something is done to break up the landed estates of the sort described, to abolish the evils of peonage and to create small peasant proprietorships, the danger of serious conflict is very real and pressing. Only by securing a permanent foothold on the soil can the Indians be brought to a knowledge of responsible citizenship, and only by this means can the greed for cheap labor be checked. Some of the countries, where the abuses of peonage are rampant, have made an effort to stamp them out, by government regulation of contracts and other processes.

Even in the advanced states, the relationship existing between an agricultural proprietor and the native tenants on his estate is reminiscent at times of colonial usages. On the Chilean "haciendas," or large farms, for example, the laborer-tenants (inquilinos) work a certain number of days a week for the owner in exchange for the use of a cabin and piece of ground, and the loan of domestic animals. Their surplus produce, also, they must sell to the owner, and as long as the

agreement with him is in force they are not allowed to leave the estate without permission. In addition to these terms, the "vaqueros," or cowboys, receive a small wage.

The Italian and other European laborers located in the sparsely settled districts of almost any of the republics are apt to find that the conditions of life are decidedly more primitive than what they had expected. Many of the workers, in fact, are of a roving character, coming from their native lands only for the harvest season. Because of the frequent lack of housing and school facilities, and of the difficulty of acquiring freehold land in small quantities, they have no special inducements to stay in the country. The condition of the laboring class in the cities and towns, of course, is much better, and in the larger centers of trade and industry the workmen are paid relatively high wages.

Regardless of the particular country to which they may belong, the members of the dominant classes among the Latin Americans have the common characteristics of their European ancestors. Affable, kindly and courteous, they are alike hospitable, generous and forbearing, warm in their friendships and no less bitter in their enmities. High-spirited, quick-minded and sensitive to a degree, they expect that the qualities

they themselves display will be reflected by the people with whom they are brought into contact. Brave and courageous, also, they are patriotic to the heart's core.

Though keenly appreciative of humor, they rarely use it on public occasions. Wonderfully fluent in speech, they choose eloquence as the mode of conveying their ideas and sentiments, rather than resort to witticism. Irony they scarcely understand as a weapon of bloodless offense. Quick to resent an injury, and sharply jealous of their personal honor, they still make use of dueling to settle disputes; but the practice is dying out. Vivacious in temperament, they find gesticulation a helpful means of facilitating expression, even when using the telephone. They love diversion, are willing to make incredible sacrifices for some splendid display that will be remembered with a thrill of pride, and attach great importance to the formalities and ceremonies of social intercourse.

Yet in strict justice to the Latin Americans, it must be admitted that they have their faults as well as their virtues, the fact being quite as apparent to men of their own stock as it is to the foreigner. Rarely prone to hurry, and not gifted with the practical sense, as that term is usually understood in the processes of modern in-

dustry, they are inclined at times to put off until to-morrow what could be done to-day. To paraphrase the opinion of one of their recent writers: The Latin American, a creature of dreams and a victim of neglect, brings together all the conditions essential to a writer or a musician, and he lacks initiative. If the American seeks the shortest road to a given end, the Latin American looks for the prettiest. Somewhat of a dilettante, he is not well adapted to the period into which he is born.

The Latin American, says this writer, furthermore, has but a vague notion of the type of civilization to which he belongs. In general his concept of life has to do with his town, his district, his street and his house, or, at the utmost, with his particular state. The Latin Americans, then, in his opinion, are not peoples who have become productive as yet of an active, vivid, pulsating life that would create, amplify and progress; and he thinks that the remedy for this state of affairs does not consist in imitating from Europe or elsewhere that which ought to rise spontaneously. While these shortcomings, to the extent that they may actually exist, are stated in a somewhat exaggerated fashion by the writer in question, their manifestation depends largely, of course, on the relative stage of advancement in each country.

The Latin-American woman is alike charming and gracious, and devoted to her home and family. If the head of the family rules it with patriarchal simplicity, the relations of the various members of it, none the less, are regulated by constant courtesy and kindliness. Reverence for parents is a strong characteristic of family life. In many cases, however, the old spirit of seclusion, inherited from Spanish and Portuguese prejudices, still survives. While the women move about in the world, they rarely take any important part in the larger phases of public life. Outside of the home, they find their chief interest in religion and in works of charity.

Families, as a rule, are numerous, and those belonging to the wealthier class are so closely allied by marriage that social functions are often little more than family activities on a wider scale. Certain days of the week or month are commonly set aside as "días de moda" (fashionable or smart days), on which the people, who move in the best society, go to the theater or opera, or to watering-places. Paris is the model for feminine fashions.

Young girls are kept under strict surveillance. Marriages are generally arranged by the parents. Young men and young women are not permitted to go out together unchaperoned. Among the members of the younger generation, however, there is a tendency

population of about a million and a half, is the largest Spanish-speaking city, and the second largest Latin city in the world, coming immediately after Paris, on which in many respects it is modeled. Here, and in the other large cities, many of the private residences are superb in their architecture and decoration. The hotel accommodations, also, approximate those of the better sort in Europe.

CHAPTER XII

POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL SITUATION

Latin-American constitutions are far more extensive in scope and provision than the Federal Constitution of the United States. In fifteen of the republics the form of government outlined by them is unitary, in four federal, and in one unitary-federal. That so many of the states should have adopted the unitary system is a clear evidence of the influence of France on their political development. Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and the Argentine Republic are the four countries that have established the federal arrangement, and Cuba the one that has blended the unitary with the federal.

In practice the tendency in all of the federal republics, except Brazil, is to strengthen the unitary element, or, in other words, to

ruled either by a virtual autocrat whose effective support comes from certain classes and not from the great body of the people themselves, or else by a relatively small number of persons identified with the interests of the wealthy and the well educated. Professional men, rather than those concerned primarily in industrial pursuits, are apt to be the dominant factor in politics.

Possibly the two kinds of actual government in question are the only ones that are feasible under present conditions. To establish a more liberal system, so long as the masses remain uneducated, might be unwise. The Latin-American governments, at all events, do not appear to rest on the people, broadly speaking, but only on the "political" people, on that portion of the population which is believed to possess the knowledge and intelligence needful to enable its members to assume an active share in public life.

Either by the terms of the constitution, or in actual practice, then, illiterates are excluded from the suffrage. Since a large, though varying, percentage of the population in all of the republics cannot read or write, it follows that a very considerable number of the inhabitants of voting age are not allowed to participate in the elections. They belong almost entirely, of course, to the colored races. In the larger cities, where education

increase the power of the national government. While the various political divisions in theory enjoy full rights of local legislation, they are commonly disposed to copy, with suitable modifications, the legislative enactments of the central government itself. Hence, instead of the conflicts of legal authority found in other countries where the federal arrangement exists, in the Latin-American republics of this kind there is a more or less uniform system of laws enacted under national direction.

While the government in all of the states is republican in form, it is not always democratic in practice, to the extent of being immediately representative of the entire people. Public opinion as a controlling force, in the sense in which the expression is understood in the United States and Great Britain, is virtually nonexistent. Newspapers, to be sure, exercise some influence. Mass-meetings of protest or recommendation, also, are occasionally held; but the tendency is to regard such manifestations of public sentiment as seditious, or, at all events, not in accordance with established usage.

However generous any particular constitution may be in allowing for the participation of the people at large in government, the fact remains that, to all intents and purposes, the Latin-American countries are

is well advanced, the voting privilege is quite widely diffused; but so much cannot be said of the country districts. Here it is necessary at times for honest and public-spirited men to bring much pressure to bear upon local parties and administrators, to insure that the dependent classes shall acquire political experience, without permitting the politicians to use their fighting instinct alone for personal ends.

In many of the republics foreigners are given the right to vote at municipal elections without having been previously naturalized, although this privilege is subject to the condition that they possess property, or practice one of the liberal professions. A fixed date for elections is unusual. They commonly take place on Sunday, the polls being located on the porches of churches, in school-houses, or even in the open squares. Ecclesiastics, as a rule, are excluded from public office of any kind.

Political parties in Latin America display a tendency to divide up into numerous groups of a more or less organized character. In a general sense they may be called the "liberal" and the "conservative." These expressions, however, are subject to a diverse classification, and include many phases of political thought and personal affiliation, varying from country to country, and hence

impossible to define broadly with any degree of precision.

The liberals and their various subdivisions are supposed to represent the modern ideas about democracy and individual liberty. The conservatives, similarly, are presumed either to oppose such ideas altogether, or else to favor their restriction, if put into practice. More concretely, the issues in politics relate to the determination of the extent of state or church control over public education, or to the views of particular leaders. The questions of parceling up large estates, of curbing the power of administrative officials, of bettering the condition of the currency, are all brought up for discussion in one country or another. Considerable difference of opinion, also, prevails in regard to the methods of regulating the activities of foreign corporations.

In the Latin-American republics, politics is an art that is assiduously cultivated, and those who practice it know how "to play the game." Even political history, for purposes of discussion, is regarded usually as present, and hence controversial, politics. On the other hand, it is true that whole parties, no less than individuals, abstain from voting, either because of lack of interest, or because of a belief that the elections cannot be carried to suit them. In municipal, and sometimes

in national, elections the number of those casting a ballot is extremely small. Secret voting is the exception, and not the rule.

A few of the republics have undertaken to remedy these defects. The Argentine Republic, for example, has prescribed an absolutely secret ballot, compulsory voting for all persons entitled to the suffrage, and a system of minority representation as well. Such reforms, when put into operation, have lessened venality and have induced parties or factions, hitherto abstaining, to take part in the elections. They have overcome, also, the disposition of many of the individual voters to neglect the performance of their political duties.

The term of office fixed by the constitutions of the Latin-American states for the president varies from four years to seven, the period first named being by far the commonest. It is frequently provided that the president shall not be elected to succeed himself; and in some cases no near relative of a retiring president may be chosen to succeed him. Occasionally a restriction is found, forbidding an army officer in active service to be elected president or even a member of congress. As a rule the president is chosen by some sort of an electoral college or by the congress, and not by the people at large. With him a vice-president, and some-

times two vice-presidents, are associated. The vice-president replaces the president in case of absence or disability, and ordinarily presides over the upper house of the congress. Where there are two vice-presidents, one is kept in reserve, as it were, to provide for emergencies.

The president is usually a civilian; but in countries where political education has not advanced very far, it is often deemed wiser to intrust the executive authority to a soldier. Throughout Latin America his power and prestige are apt to be rather greater than that of the president of the United States, and the treatment accorded him is more ceremonious.

In the performance of his duties the president is assisted by a cabinet of ministers, who are placed in charge of the several branches of administration, and in some cases are permitted to have seats in congress, but usually without vote. Several of the republics provide, in addition, a council of government or state to coöperate with the president, give him the benefit of its advice, and otherwise to share in the administration. As in France and other European countries, the cabinets in the Latin-American republics are apt to be unstable, but the fact does not appear to interfere seriously with the processes of government.

Except a few of the smaller ones, all of the republics have a national congress composed of two houses, called usually the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The smaller states in question content themselves with one house. In the few countries where the federal system prevails, the senators are chosen by the state or provincial legislatures, and the composition of the Senate is renewed periodically. In the much larger number, where the unitary form is in existence, they are chosen by electoral colleges, or by the people of the provinces or departments, or are even appointed by the president. The members of the Chamber of Deputies, however, are elected immediately by the voters of the various political divisions and, in rare instances, their membership is renewed in the same fashion as that of the Senate. In some republics substitute members of Congress are elected at the same time as the regular ones, to take the places of the latter in case of absence or disability.

Property qualifications, or the exercise of some liberal profession, are usually demanded of candidates for the presidency and for membership in congress. As a rule the representation in the legislative body is of a general rather than of a local character, the idea being that, in order to represent the people, it is not necessary for a congress-

man to reside in the district from which he is chosen. Persons actually living in the capital city are frequently elected to represent even distant provinces. The laws of the various countries are regularly published in official gazettes.

So far as the federal republics are concerned, substantially the same distinctions exist between the federal courts and the state courts as those found in the United States; elsewhere the judicial system is national in character, and all courts are under the control of the general government. In no republic, however, do the federal or national courts possess either the degree of independence or the right to interpret and apply the constitution to the extent enjoyed by the Supreme Court of the United States. The judicial power in Latin America, accordingly, is more or less subordinate to the executive and legislative authority. Under the unitary system the judges are appointed by the president, or elected by congress. The same is true, also, of the countries that have the federal form of government, except that the state or provincial judges are named by the local authorities.

The system of jurisprudence in the Latin-American republics is based on the Roman law, the Spanish and Portuguese codes and

the Code Napoleon, as revised to meet the requirements in each case. Most of the legal enactments are in codified form, and relate to civil procedure, penal offenses, commercial usages and mining privileges. Trial by jury is rarely, if ever, used in civil cases, and is far from being universal even in those relating to crime.

In most of the republics military service is obligatory, but the privilege of purchasing exemption is also common. Several of the South American states, such as Chile, the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Bolivia, have adopted the German system, and German officers train their respective armies. Outside of the first three of the republics named, none of the countries of Latin America possesses a navy of any consequence. In those republics the naval service is organized largely on the English model, and of late they have been considerably increasing their armaments.

Nearly all of the countries struggle under a heavy burden of debt, and not a few of them find great difficulty in meeting their financial obligations. By far the greater part of the debt has been contracted in Europe for the purpose of developing natural resources, and often to an extent for which the nations concerned were ill-prepared. In many cases, also, the burden has been in-

creased by the unfortunate point of view of the representatives of one government or another, that it was humiliating for a country to offer sufficient security, preferring to pay high rates of interest rather than to offer to the foreign capitalist any direct control over the national sources of income. States like the Argentine Republic, Chile, Brazil and Uruguay now enjoy a high credit in European banking circles, and most of the others are making earnest efforts to reduce their indebtedness by fair and honorable means.

Taxation as a rule is heavy. In addition to import and export duties and to excise taxes, many of the smaller or more backward countries resort to government monopolies of such commodities as spirituous liquors, salt, tobacco and stamped paper, for the purpose of raising revenue. This circumstance, taken in connection with the general inadequacy of home manufactures, explains in some measure why the scale of prices for many articles of common consumption is so high.

The currency question is often a serious one. Where the gold standard prevails, as it does in less than half of the republics, the fluctuations in exchange are relatively slight. So much cannot be said of those on a silver basis and having depreciated paper as the

chief circulating medium. Although the constitutions of the states afflicted by money of this description usually prohibit the issue of notes, the fact does not prevent the local banks from evading the restriction, if they can secure government approval for that purpose. Of all the countries, Colombia and Paraguay are the ones that are suffering most keenly at present from issues of depreciated paper.

Occasionally such expedients have been tried as the prohibition of the export of silver and gold coins, and even the reduction of the salaries of government employees, in order to provide a reserve fund that may meet the difficulties caused by an unsound currency. The more advanced states have resorted to a wiser policy. Some of them have adopted the plan of setting aside a certain percentage of the revenues from taxation, and of depositing the sums thus obtained in foreign banks for the redemption of the paper money; or have made an arrangement for that purpose with a foreign corporation which would accept guarantees in the form of railway and mining concessions. In other cases, as in the Argentine Republic and Brazil, the fluctuations in exchange have been obviated in large measure through the establishment of what are called "conversion offices," by the regula-

tions of which the ratio of paper to gold is definitely fixed. The creation of national banks, also, has greatly contributed toward the removal of some of the more serious financial difficulties.

Few of the cities and towns in Latin America enjoy municipal independence. Though the federal districts containing the national capital, in the republics where the federal system prevails, send representatives to congress, the fact does not seem to assure them any greater degree of control over their local affairs. As a rule the municipal officers are either appointees of the national or provincial authorities, or act in accordance with their direction.

The police and fire service is commonly organized on a military basis, and the men engaged in it are often efficient and well drilled. Burglary is practically unknown, and highway robbery a very rare occurrence, outside of the republics in which grave political disturbances still exist. In five or six of the states the death penalty has been abolished altogether. The more progressive countries, also, have adopted an excellent penal system, which aims at the reformation, rather than the punishment, of offenders against the law.

CHAPTER XIII

INDUSTRY

Much is being done by the governments of the advanced states in Latin America to encourage the staple industries of mining, agriculture and stock-raising, and to foster manufacturing as well. Public lands are sold, often at a nominal price, with a long time allowed for payment. In some cases the purchaser is obligated to stock the land and put up needful buildings. Care likewise is being taken to avoid increasing the number of large estates, by restricting within a reasonable maximum the amount of land that may be granted.

For the promotion of agriculture and stock-raising, loans, bounties and prizes are among the means utilized, particularly for the introduction of new articles of produce. To these spurs to activity may be added the benefits of high protective duties, exemption from taxation and the free admission of necessary machinery. Many efforts have been made, especially in Mexico, to reclaim arid lands by an extensive system of irrigation. Agricultural and mortgage banks, also, under government control, loan money to farmers.

As a stimulus to home manufactures, sev-

eral of the governments are trying to change the character of the imports from foreign countries, to develop natural resources and to improve the facilities of transportation. They have increased import duties, granted bounties, aided in the discovery and application of various kinds of fuel, hitherto brought from abroad, promoted the use of water power from rivers and falls, and encouraged the exportation of local manufactured products. To these ends, as in the case of Uruguay, they have even entered into contracts with firms and individuals, and have supplied part of the capital required.

Several of the countries, notably the Argentine Republic and Uruguay, have established bureaus of inspection and experimental stations for the benefit of industries connected with agriculture and stock-raising. Uruguay, also, has created a bureau of general information for the exhibition of samples of all materials of national production, and the diffusion of knowledge about the resources of the country in general. National and international expositions have been held in such states as the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Chile, at which the industrial products have been displayed to great advantage. Many private organizations, similarly, have carried on a vigorous work of propaganda.

Foreign capital, of course, has been employed in enormous quantities. Mines, agricultural properties, light, power and traction enterprises have all received a mighty impulse toward their development from this source. In the supply of capital, Great Britain still occupies easily the foremost place, followed by the United States, France and Germany, more or less in the order named. British and American capital predominates in practically all of the countries in and around the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. South of this area British funds largely control the situation.

Throughout the republics in which mining is one of the great industries, the regulations governing the concession and working of mining properties are generally very liberal. The number of claims that may be denounced is unlimited, the annual tax on each claim light, and the tax on the exportation of the ore reasonable. Free entry, moreover, for all necessary equipment is conceded, at least so far as the first introduction of the material is concerned.

Among the mining processes of interest is that connected with the extraction of nitrate of soda in Chile. The crude material, called "caliche," is found at depths ranging from one foot to ten feet below the surface. For the purpose of mining it, a shaft is

sunk and a charge of dynamite placed at the bottom. After the explosion, the chunks are broken up, loaded into mule-carts and taken to the "oficina," or nitrate-plant proper. Here they are pulverized by powerful machinery, and the powder is run into huge tanks where it is boiled in water for ten or twelve hours. The saturated liquid, known as "calso," freed from gravelly refuse, is then run into vats to cool and crystallize. When dry, the nitrate thus procured is put into bags and sent by rail to the seaports.

In the nitrate region, incidentally, it may be said that trees and plants are unknown, and the employees of the British, American and German firms engaged in the extraction of the material have to live on what is brought them from without. The fact seems all the more remarkable when one remembers that nitrate of soda is the chief ingredient of the finest fertilizers. Nitric acid, saltpeter and iodine are also extracted from it.

On account of the equable climate in many of the cooler areas of Latin America, agricultural operations are carried on all the year round. Outside of the highly advanced states, the methods of tilling the soil are often very primitive, scarcely improved in fact beyond what they were in colonial times. Food plants are raised mainly for local

consumption. They consist for the most part of maize, black beans, rice, "quinoa," which is a species of millet, manioc, potatoes and yams. In Mexico, maize and beans are the great food staples of the poorer classes, and constitute the dishes known as "frijoles," and "tortillas."

Until comparatively a few years ago, the Argentine Republic and its little neighbor, Uruguay, were almost entirely pastoral countries; but many of the cattle-raisers are now inclined to believe that the future of both lands lies rather in agriculture. The result is that the Argentine Republic, in particular, has become one of the greatest producers of cereals, flax and linseed in the world.

Several of the methods pursued in connection with the raising and elaboration of agricultural products call for a few words of description. In Costa Rica, for example, the banana plant begins to yield fruit a few months after the shoot has been put into the ground. At the close of each season the laborer cuts the shoot with a "machete," a species of long pruning knife, sticks the "machete" into the earth, gives it a twist, puts in the shoot, stamps it, and the process is done. In some of the tropical countries, like Paraguay, the cultivation of oranges and other citrus fruits offers great promise,

not only for the "golden apples" themselves, but for the orange-wine, citric acid, citrates of lime, candied peel and orange-flower water, which may be made from them.

The coffee-tree, as seen for instance on the plantations (fazendas) in southern Brazil, may grow to a height of twenty feet, but for the sake of convenience in picking it is rarely allowed to reach more than eight or nine. It begins to bear, ordinarily, when from three to five years old. During the harvest season the pickers are busy at work with huge baskets strapped to their backs. They labor for reputation as well as for money, and usually receive more of the former than they do of the latter, thus having something in common with a great many other classes of people in the world. At all events, the fame of being the fastest picker is one very much to be envied.

After the outer pulp and skin have been removed, the coffee beans are subjected to a thorough cleansing, spread out on drying terraces, made of cement, and exposed to the heat of the sun. To hasten the course of drying, which sometimes runs over several weeks, workmen are engaged in constantly turning over the beans with rakes. The inner skin adhering closely to the beans is then taken off by a hulling machine, and the chaff blown away by a process of win-

nowing. When this is done, women and girls are assigned the task of sorting the beans into "Mocha," "Java" and other grades of coffee.

Some years ago, furthermore, the Brazilian State of São Paulo, in which the bulk of the coffee is produced, warded off the dangers arising from an enormous surplus crop by buying up the floating supply at a minimum price and selling it as the market might demand. This is known as the "valorization" scheme.

A word or two might now be said about the production of cacao. After the pods containing the cacao beans are cut or broken away from the trunk of the tree to which they are attached, the beans are freed from their enveloping pulp, spread on bamboo matting and exposed to the rays of the sun. So as to assure evenness in drying, workmen rake them over every once in a while, sometimes, as in Ecuador, by scuffling through them with their bare feet. After the beans have been ground and otherwise treated in the foreign countries to which they are exported, the powder is flavored with sugar and vanilla, and the resultant product is called chocolate.

The "yerba," a species of tea, raised in Paraguay and the adjoining districts of the Argentine Republic and Brazil, is made

from the leaves of a tree that grows partly wild and partly under cultivation. The leaves are gathered on huge branches at a time by Indian laborers and shipped to the cities, where they are dried, cleansed and pulverized by machinery, and packed in bags for shipment. As the leaves contain resin, essential oil and a small quantity of caffeine and tannin, they have the characteristic properties of tea and coffee, but in such proportions that the product is not injurious. In the southern part of South America the use of "yerba" as a beverage is very popular. Less harmful than either tea or coffee, it is more stimulating. It is commonly drunk through a spoon-shaped tube, called a "bombilla," or "little pump," out of a small pear-shaped gourd, called a "mate" or "cuya."

Coca is a shrub found only in Peru and Bolivia. It is long-lived, and begins to bear a few months after planting, as many as four crops being raised in a year. Though cultivated at a high altitude, the shrub grows only in the temperate areas. After the leaves have been dried for a few hours, they are pressed into bales and exported in this form.

All through the vast stretches of the Amazon valley, and other areas in Latin America, will be found the camps of the wandering

rubber gatherers. The rubber trees vary in height from fifty to seventy feet, and in diameter from two to three feet. From the many varieties of trees there are two or three principal rubber products taken, one of which, called in Spanish "jebe," is more elastic than the others, and consequently worth more in the market. The less valuable sort of rubber is often obtained by felling the tree, in order to extract its milky sap or juice. The "jebe," on the other hand, is drawn out by making incisions in a spiral form around the trunk, and hanging under them a number of little tin cups. So sensitive is the bark of the tree that little more than a scratch will cause the fluid to ooze out.

The work of tapping the trees is begun at daybreak. In the course of the afternoon the rubber-gatherer collects the contents of the cup into a bucket. Then the rubber milk is coagulated over a fire built of sticks of wood containing certain chemical properties. When duly "curdled," the milk is made into large balls of a brownish-black color. A recent Brazilian invention, however, promises to furnish a means of "curing" rubber without the use of smoke, through adding a certain preservative that enables the milk to be kept in liquid form until ready for coagulation and pressure into sheets.

In many cases the exploitation of the rubber forests is wasteful beyond measure, and the treatment of the rubber-gatherers, who are commonly Indians and halfbreeds, by their taskmasters, none too gentle. This treatment, added to their lonely life in wild forests and in an unhealthy climate, makes their lot a deplorable one; though it must be admitted that the rubber traders have indirectly helped, more than any other class, to open the interior of the several countries, survey the navigable waters and promote exploration in general. Small wonder is it, therefore, that a modest, useful and valuable product like rubber should have been given the epithet "black gold," suggestive of the evil actions too frequently associated with the search for that precious metal. It should be said, however, that the governments of Brazil and Peru have made efforts to lessen some of the worst phases of the situation.

Though stock-breeding is an important industry in many of the Latin-American countries, it holds chief place in the activities of the Argentine Republic. The finest breeds of European and Arabian horses, and of European cattle and sheep have been brought thither, and they have thriven wonderfully. In the number of horses on its ranches, the Argentine Repub-

lic ranks third in the world, coming after Russia and the United States, in the number of cattle third, after India and the United States, and in the number of sheep second only to Australia. A specialty is made of breeding draft and race horses. Enormous herds of cattle, also, roam over the "pampas." Here the fine soil and excellent pasturage, so conducive to the size and productiveness of the cattle, give them a superior "bloom," as the stock-raisers would say. Though not always greater in weight or in amount of beef than the cattle of the United States, some of the finest bulls weigh a ton, and yield 500 or 600 pounds of beef. In the Argentine Republic, furthermore, are raised countless millions of sheep, the progenitors of which, like those of the cattle, came directly or indirectly from England. Much of the wool produced is of the fine quality and glossy appearance so much sought after.

Not only stock-breeding, but the industries associated with the preparation of animal products flourish in both the Argentine Republic and Uruguay. "Charqui," chilled meat, tinned tongues, beef extracts, hides, skins, tallow and wool are numbered in the list. "Charqui" consists of beef cut into long, thin strips and dried in the sun. When fresh, properly cured and suitably cooked,

it is quite palatable. Liebig's Extract of Meat Company, one of the largest establishments of its kind in the world, is located in Uruguay. Here, and in the Argentine Republic, the great stockyards and refrigerating plants, and the numerous dairy industries, especially in Buenos Ayres, are centers of busy life. The various activities visible on the huge "estancias," or cattle-ranches, in particular, are objects of absorbing interest.

Compared with the great and widespread industries of mining, agriculture and stock-raising, those connected with manufacturing and the mechanical arts in general have reached little more than the preliminary stage in most of the Latin-American countries. Aside from primitive handicrafts, the manufacturing enterprises are associated, mainly in direct fashion, with the three staple industries themselves. The circumstance is explained in large measure by the relative backwardness in economic development as a whole, and by the lack of sufficient capital and skilled labor. Under present conditions, perhaps, it might be desirable that this situation continue, since the countries concerned, for many years to come, will find it more profitable to export food products and raw material, in exchange for European and American goods, than

to attempt manufacturing on their own account.

So far as the distinctly tropical areas enter into the question, the existence of an essentially factory or industrial life seems altogether improbable, except in the very remote future. In the temperate countries, however, the encouraging development of local industries may soon put them in a position to meet a large number of the requirements of the home market, and thereby lessen their dependence upon foreign manufactures for the supplies demanded by an advancing civilization. Aside from the industries already mentioned, flour-mills, distilleries, breweries, sugar-mills and weaving-mills may be included in the list. Yet, even in the largest industrial centers the manufacturing enterprises belonging to citizens of the republic are scarcely a tenth of those owned and conducted by foreigners.

In regard to the primitive handicrafts pursued, especially among the peoples of Indian stock, it may be said that a stout, serviceable cloth is woven from the llama, vicuña and alpaca wool, one of the chief articles made being the "poncho," a sort of blanket, commonly worn in the country districts. Cotton goods of coarse texture are woven in Peru and southern Brazil. In Mexico, the "pita," a plant resembling the pine-

apple, yields a strong fiber for spinning and weaving. Here, also, the "rebozo," the "sarape" and other articles of dress are made, chiefly out of cotton. The so-called "Panama hats" of the best grade are woven by hand in Ecuador, from a kind of straw growing in the coast region of that country. In Nicaragua, similarly, are produced "Panama chains." These are made of solid or hollow gold wire, strung like hair-chains; and some of the specimens turned out are good examples of the goldsmith's art. The women of Paraguay, also, are expert in the knitting of "ñandutí," a kind of filmy lace, not unlike a spider web.

One of the most remarkable native industries is that which has to do with manufacturing the many derivatives from the "maguey," and other varieties of cacti, grown in Mexico. The list of such derivatives includes ropes, twine, thread, thatch, mats, hammocks, paper and, above all, three kinds of liquor, the best known of which is called "pulque," the national beverage of Mexico. "Pulque" is obtained through fermentation of the sap of the "maguey" by a process that dates back to the time of the Aztecs. If taken in moderation, the liquor is a tonic and is nutritive as well. The word itself, curiously enough, is of Araucanian, and not of Aztec, origin.

From the produce of the "vegas" or tobacco plantations of Cuba, including those of the world-famed "Vuelta Abajo" district, more than a hundred cigar factories in Havana alone turn out hundreds of millions of cigars a year, and many million pounds of leaf tobacco. Some of these factories employ upwards of 600 workmen. In the larger ones a professional reader is engaged, who reads from books or newspapers, chosen by the workmen themselves, as a means of holding their attention to their duties, and of preventing possible conversation or argument. In Cuba, also, and in other countries where sugar-cane is raised in large quantities, the refining of sugar, the production of molasses and the distillation of rum are extensively carried on. Shoemaking is an industry prosecuted with considerable success in such countries as Chile and Colombia, mainly through the use of American machinery.

CHAPTER XIV

COMMERCE

All of the larger cities of Latin America are well provided with banking institutions. In the northern group of republics American banking interests are strong,

whereas in South America the reverse is the case. Here the British and German establishments exercise practically complete control over the money market, and enjoy large profits on their operations. Trust companies are rare. The same may be said of corporate monopolies of the American sort, except in some of the northern countries, and to a certain extent, also, in the Argentine Republic, where they have bought up several of the packing-houses.

Regarding the commercial attitude and business usages of the Latin Americans, it may be said that in all of the republics a small number of persons are found who view with disfavor and apprehension the introduction of foreign capital and the inpouring of European immigrants. Prepossessions of this sort, however, are not commonly influential. A marked desire, on the contrary, for the introduction of American, as well as British and German, capital exists in substantially all of the countries. Not only is the value of capital for the purpose of developing natural resources well understood, but there is a shrewd notion afoot, also, of the additional benefits that would proceed from a cheapening of that commodity were the American article to be placed in effective competition with the British and the German.

On the other hand, the principle of competition, as applied in particular to the sale of foreign goods, either purchased outright or sold on commission, is not so warmly welcomed by the average business house in Latin America. When it undertakes to handle such goods, it is apt to demand an exclusive right to their sale, and looks askance at any attempt to supply a competitor with the same product.

That the great industrial and commercial enterprises of the Latin-American countries are controlled largely by Europeans and Americans is a circumstance not due altogether to the fact that the capital required for their initiation and development has come from outside of those countries themselves. Viewed as a whole, the Latin Americans, whatever their nationality, appear to lack the business instinct of the British, the German and the American. Some of the more prominent mercantile houses are familiar enough with modern methods. Close students of their foreign tutors, and possessed of much ability of their own, the members of such firms enlarge their acquaintance with the present requirements of business, by visiting the trade centers of Europe and the United States.

The average Latin-American merchant, however, is cautious and conservative after

the manner of his Spanish or Portuguese ancestors. Invariably courteous in his bearing, and often formal and punctilious to a degree, he expects a like treatment in return. He is not quick to perceive the advantage of talking business the moment his visitor arrives, or of buying an article that has the element of novelty as its chief recommendation. Instead, he is disposed to prefer that which he knows by long-continued usage and, when the familiar article is brought from abroad, he wants it precisely in the form to which he is accustomed.

In this connection an interesting contrast is frequently offered between the practices of the countries on the east coast of South America and those on the west coast. So far as the business man in the former is concerned, he has very little sentiment, as a rule, and accordingly buys from the person who sells the cheapest. On the west coast the dominant idea is rather one of friendship and relationship. Here the merchant prefers to do business, even at a disadvantage, with an individual or a firm that he has known, rather than to break off his old connections for the sake of a newcomer who may offer a larger profit.

Exemplifying the trait to which attention has already been called, the Latin-American business man is apt to make

promises of performance on a morrow that is long in coming. Such assurances bring to mind the phrase of the witty Frenchman, who remarked that the only Spanish expression which was more common than "mañana" (to-morrow) was "pasado mañana" (day after to-morrow)! To the extent that the promises refer to payments and credits, ancestral tradition is not alone responsible for the slowness of the one, or for the length of time demanded in the case of the other. The circumstance itself is not unusual in countries relatively undeveloped, where there may be an abundance of natural products accompanied by a scarcity of ready money to meet demands on short notice. The standard of financial morality among Latin-American business men in general is high, and bankruptcy relatively infrequent. Proof of this assertion is found in the long credits granted by the British and German commercial houses.

In the larger cities the shops compare favorably with those of similar centers in Europe. Outside of Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Rio de Janeiro and Santiago, department stores are almost unknown. The more important mercantile houses are commonly of British, German or American ownership and management, except that the American element is usually lacking in the

South American republics. Small shops for the sale of drygoods, provisions and the like are ordinarily in the hands of Germans, Italians, Spaniards and Portuguese.

High tariffs on imported articles are the rule in Latin-American countries, and are levied for the production of revenue, perhaps, more than for the stimulation of home manufactures as such. Though food and lodging outside of the largest cities are not expensive, manufactured commodities and articles of comfort, convenience and luxury, imported from abroad, are costly. Chile is about the only state that has an extensive free list for foreign goods, a concession due to the large revenue obtained from the export tax on nitrate of soda. Despite the heavy protective duties, however, the annual trade returns of the more advanced countries are apt to show a steady increase.

The duties levied in Latin-American ports are more commonly specific than *ad valorem*, the weight being determined strictly in accordance with the metric system, which is in use practically everywhere, except occasionally among the lower classes. Tariff schedules are often complicated and, unless followed very carefully, may cause articles to be taxed much higher than the class to which they properly belong.

In their foreign trade a majority of the

Latin-American republics show a considerable excess of exports over imports. This excess would be a good sign of prosperity, but for the fact that an enormous part of the capital engaged in producing the exported articles is foreign, and hence that the earnings of the capital go out of the country.

The chief metallic and mineral substances exported from the Latin-American countries are silver (Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica); copper (Peru, Chile, Mexico and Bolivia); tin (Bolivia); gold (Mexico, Colombia, Nicaragua, Honduras, Salvador and Costa Rica); nitrate of soda (Chile); petroleum (Mexico and Peru); and bismuth (Bolivia). The output of silver from Mexico represents over one third of the world's produce, and is drawn mainly from three mineral districts, which were worked also in colonial times. Bolivia produces tin second in amount only to that of the Straits Settlements, and the bulk of the world's nitrate comes from Chile.

The principal exports of agricultural products, similarly, are represented by coffee (Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Haiti and Ecuador); sugar-cane (Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Peru); tobacco (Cuba, Brazil, the Dominican Republic and Paraguay); cacao (Brazil, Ecuador, the

Dominican Republic, Venezuela and Haiti); bananas and other fruits (Costa Rica, Colombia, Panama and Honduras); cotton (Peru and Haiti); "henequén," "ixtle," sisal hemp and other vegetable fibers (Mexico); and cereals (the Argentine Republic and Uruguay). Brazil sends out four fifths of the world's supply of coffee, and the Argentine Republic ranks third among the nations of the earth in its supply of maize, and fifth in that of wheat. Panama hats constitute one of the chief exports of Ecuador.

The exportation of forest products includes rubber (Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Panama and Nicaragua); hardwoods (Guatemala, Paraguay and Nicaragua); dyewoods (Haiti); "yerba" (Paraguay and Brazil); and ivory nuts (Ecuador and Panama). About one half of the rubber used in commerce comes from Brazil alone.

Animal products are exported chiefly by the Argentine Republic, Uruguay, and, to a much less extent, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala and Paraguay. The Argentine Republic ranks first among the countries of the world in its supply of chilled meat, and is second only to Australia in its exportation of sheep and wool.

According to the returns for 1911, in the order of annual value of foreign trade the Argentine Republic heads the list, with about

$670,000,000. Brazil, its nearest competitor, has approximately five sixths of this amount. Cuba, Mexico and Chile do a foreign business valued at more than $200,000,000; and Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia and Venezuela from somewhat less than $100,000,000 down to $30,000,000 a year respectively. The Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay carry on seven eighths of the total trade of the South American continent. The rest have a commerce worth less than that of Denmark. Brazil, with a population about one and one half times as great as that of Mexico, has four times as much commerce; and the Argentine Republic, with about half the population of Mexico, has nearly six times as much commerce.

For their size and the value of their resources, Ecuador and Colombia are economically the most backward countries in South America. Not only are their resources largely undeveloped, but their products for export fall far below the proportion that might be expected from the number of the population, and their imports, also, are relatively insignificant. Their importance in the commercial world lies in the possibility of future growth rather than in their present status. Paraguay, Nicaragua and Honduras have the least foreign commerce of all the Latin-American republics.

Because of the insufficient development of home manufactures, the imports of the Latin-American countries, as a rule, are very great. Textiles, especially cotton goods, constitute a leading article of import among all of the states; hardware, machinery and construction material among all but three (Haiti, Panama and Honduras); and foodstuffs, particularly flour, among all but two (the Argentine Republic and the Dominican Republic). Boots and shoes are among the principal items of import in Salvador; drugs and medicines in Salvador and Venezuela; glassware and pottery in Uruguay; coal in the Argentine Republic, Chile and Peru; and gold, in Bolivia.

Among the foreign nations to which the Latin Americans export their products, the United States holds first place in all of the countries in North America, except Guatemala, and in none of those in South America, except Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela — or twelve altogether. In fact the United States is the chief customer for the coffee of Brazil. It ranks second, however, in commercial relations with Guatemala, Peru and Chile. The Argentine Republic receives most of the exports of Paraguay and a considerable amount, also, of those of Uruguay.

Of the European countries to which the Latin-American states despatch the bulk

of their exports, Great Britain stands first in dealings with the Argentine Republic, Chile, Bolivia and Peru, and second in those with Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Cuba, Costa Rica, Panama and Nicaragua. Germany is the chief recipient of the exports of Guatemala, and ranks second in the export trade of the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Salvador, Paraguay and Honduras. France stands first in the export trade of Uruguay and Ecuador, and second in that of Haiti and Venezuela.

Great Britain and the United States share the first rank among the foreign nations from which the Latin-American republics receive most of their imported goods. The United States surpasses Great Britain in the import trade of all of the republics in North America, and in that of none of the republics of South America, except Colombia and Venezuela, or twelve altogether, the chief difference between this and the twelve already mentioned consisting in the inclusion of Guatemala and the exclusion of Brazil. The value of the imports from Brazil into the United States, in fact, is very much less than that of its exports to that country. Elsewhere in South America, the United States is second to Great Britain in Peru and Ecuador.

Great Britain, on the other hand, surpasses

the United States in the import trade of all the South American republics, except Colombia and Venezuela, or eight altogether, and holds second rank in that of the two just named, and of all of the North American countries, except Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Guatemala. Germany occupies the second place in the import trade of six South American states (the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia and Paraguay), and of three of those of North America (Mexico, the Dominican Republic and Guatemala).

CHAPTER XV

TRANSPORTATION

On land the system of transportation and communication in Latin America, taking the republics as a whole, is quite defective. In many of the mountainous and tropical regions, and even in some portions of the temperate areas, railways are practically non-existent. The result is that throughout most of Latin America the modes of overland transportation, on roads that are often little more than mule-tracks, are about as primitive as they were in colonial days. Pack animals, ox-carts and human carriers have to be brought into requisition.

Though the rate of speed is necessarily very slow, the carrying capacity in one form or another is surprisingly great.

Almost any article, no matter how heavy or bulky, from a piano to a huge piece of machinery, can be borne through the jungles or up the steep mountain passes. Except in some of the more advanced states, donkey or llama trains, and even goats and sheep, laden with every conceivable sort of merchandise, are everywhere conspicuous. Whenever any particular object is too heavy or too unwieldy for the beasts of burden to carry or pull, it is slung on poles and borne on the backs of men.

Any needless deviation, therefore, from the rules of packing and adjustment, by reason of weight or size, means a corresponding increase, both in the difficulties of transportation and in the freight charges. Assuming that the goods are in proper form and are intrusted to experienced carriers, the risk of loss or injury is not so imminent as it might seem. The very existence of the risk, nevertheless, adds materially to the insurance rates; and in all cases the amounts charged for such primitive modes of carriage, to say nothing of those exacted by the small vessels plying on many of the rivers, are apt to be far in excess of what is demanded for transportation by sea.

The larger cities of Latin America are provided with an excellent system of electric tramcars, mainly the property of foreign corporations. Wherever the exigencies of traffic demand it, the disposition is increasing to electrify the street railways. Tramcars drawn by horses or mules are derisively called "cucarachas" (cockroaches). In the more advanced countries, of course, automobiles are numerous, especially those of the French type; nor is it unusual to find them, wherever the condition of the road will allow it, in the backward states.

Except in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Honduras, the railway facilities in the group of republics in North America are fairly adequate for present demands. In South America, on the contrary, apart from certain areas, the railway situation is very deficient; but the first half of the twentieth century promises to be a great railway-building era. Never has the construction of iron roads, especially in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia been so active as it is now. Distinct progress in this direction, also, is visible in Peru, Ecuador and Paraguay, though not so much in Venezuela and Colombia.

Political disturbances, unsettled social conditions, lack of funds and of the needful labor, and the difficulties arising out of the

physical conformation of the mountainous countries, are all responsible for the existing backwardness. In the western countries of South America, traversed by the Andes, there are more problems for the modern railway engineer to solve than in almost any other part of the world where railways are required. On account of the enormous obstacles to construction, no railways have yet been completed to connect adequately the great river system of the Atlantic side of the continent with the Pacific coast. It should be said, however, that the magnificent network of waterways in Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Colombia have compensated in some measure, so far, for the relative lack of railways, particularly in view of the great progress in steam navigation.

Outside of Mexico, Cuba, the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, which have more or less elaborate trunk systems, nearly all of the railways in Latin America are short-line feeders for seaports, constituting thus a series of scattered, unrelated units. Among the Latin republics of North America, Cuba is the country that has the largest railway mileage in proportion to its area, and the same is true of Uruguay in South America. Colombia is the one that has the smallest.

In states like Mexico, the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, the trains, on the main lines at least, are well provided with the accommodations that modern requirements of convenience, and even luxury, may call for. Vestibuled throughout and supplied with parlor cars, dining cars and sleepers, clean, well lighted and ventilated, they meet the wishes of the traveler in practically every respect. Even on some of the mountain railways and the shorter lines running a comparatively short distance back from the seacoast, no very serious inconveniences are found. The Argentine Republic, in fact, has vestibuled trains for the transportation of cattle, an arrangement which greatly facilitates the process of loading the cars.

In the Latin republics of North America, where American influence upon railway construction is more marked, the American car is the type commonly used. On the other hand, in the South American countries, where British money has built most of the railways, the compartment system is the rule, though modifications, combining both the American and the European plan, are not uncommon.

Railway rates, both for passengers and freight, are apt to be very high. This is notably true of the republics in which the

natural difficulties have made construction costly. Few efforts are made to run any of the trains at a high speed. Slowness and safety are the watchwords, and in the mountainous areas trains seldom run at night. Railways, even in the same country, often have different gauges; but wherever the railway system is extensive, efforts are constantly being made to render the gauge uniform, so that difficulties of this sort may soon be obviated. Express companies, working in connection with the railways, are very rare, outside of a few of the largest cities.

The oldest railway line in the northern group of republics was built in Cuba as early as 1835, and is, in fact, the oldest of all in Latin America. Though the construction of railways began in Mexico about 1842, the first line between the city of Mexico and Vera Cruz was not opened until 1873. Chile had the first railway on the continent of South America, the line being built by an American in 1851. The Argentine Republic followed in 1857, and Brazil a year later.

Not only railways, but practically all of the modern means of transportation in Latin America were initiated and constructed with European and American capital. Most of them, also, are owned by foreigners. Outside of Mexico and a few of the other

republics in North America, where American enterprise has been foremost, British capital and, to a much smaller extent, money from Germany and France have supplied what was needed for the purpose.

In a few of the countries the respective governments either own the railways outright, or keep them under immediate control. Mexico, for example, has striven to prevent the absorption of existing lines by foreign companies, and to reorganize and improve the system by purchasing an amount of stock sufficient to enable it to dominate the management. At least this is true so far as the great trunk lines are concerned. Except those in the nitrate areas, the railways in Chile are owned by the government, even if operated at a heavy loss. Other countries, like Brazil and the Dominican Republic, have a number of state railway lines. Although in the Argentine Republic the lines are almost exclusively in private hands, the British owners of them are held in fairly effective control by the government.

Several of the railway enterprises now in operation merit a brief description. Chile, for example, is promoting the construction of a "longitudinal railway," stretching from the Peruvian frontier southward to the Straits of Magellan, and covering a distance of 2,600 miles. More and more is

the conviction growing in Brazil that the natural wealth of the country cannot be developed until the vast and varied river systems have been adequately linked by railway connection. For the full expansion of Brazilian industries, therefore, railway communication is imperative, so as to supersede the wretched roads across the low plateaus and to turn the cataracts that bar access to the upper reaches of some of the great navigable affluents of the Amazon. When the several projects now under way have been realized, an extensive system of railway lines will open up the Brazilian backwoods, give the Andean states, like Peru and Bolivia, direct and easy access to the Atlantic, and make the Amazon one of the most important commercial highways in the world. Brazil will then enjoy a position of unrivaled value as the intermediary of exchange between central South America and the rest of the world.

One of the most remarkable railway projects that has recently been carried into effect in Brazil is the line called the "Madeira and Mamoré Railway," 210 miles in length, and built for the purpose of flanking the rapids of the Madeira River. Ocean steamships reach the foot of the rapids at the northeastern terminus of the railway. Above the rapids there are upwards of 2,500 miles of

navigable waters, serving an area of over 475,000 square miles in Bolivia and in the huge Brazilian State of Matto Grosso, a region of incalculable wealth, which has hitherto been practically isolated. Since Bolivia has built a railway to reach the head of steamboat navigation on one of the tributaries of the Madeira above the rapids, there will be no more necessity of painfully climbing over the Andes at this point in order to touch tidewater. The work of construction has been carried on by an American company.

Of the transcontinental lines, the Panama Railway between Colón and Panama was built in 1855 to facilitate the journey of the gold seekers bound for California, and to serve as a means of transit until the long projected waterway through the Isthmus of Panama could be completed. At present there are three other transcontinental railways in Latin America, all of which have been put into operation in recent times. These are the lines in Mexico across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, through Guatemala, and through the Argentine Republic and Chile. The principal tunnel on the route last named is nearly two miles long, and lies about the same distance above the level of the sea. No tunnel in the world, of so great a length, is situated at such an altitude. Eventu-

ally the lines of these two South American countries, in connection with the roads already in existence and in process of construction, will form part of a railway thousands of miles long, that will extend from Valparaiso, Chile, on the Pacific, through the Argentine Republic, Uruguay and Brazil, clear up to Pernambuco on the Atlantic.

The most grandiose project of railway construction in the New World, however, is that connected with the building of the Inter-continental Railway, commonly called the "Pan-American Railway," which was first broached at the meeting of the Pan-American Conference at Mexico in 1901. The plan then devised was to have a trunk line stretching all the way from New York to Buenos Ayres, a distance of about 10,000 miles, with ramifications in every direction. Existing lines, of course, were to be used for the purpose, and other railways added, as fast as they could be constructed in the various countries traversed. It is now possible to go from New York by rail to within a few miles of the city of Guatemala. From this point southward to Panama, and thence through Colombia, Ecuador and Peru to the shores of Lake Titicaca, there are numerous gaps to be filled in. Here the line will join the ones being pushed rapidly northward from the Argentine Republic into Bolivia.

In South America the only international lines are those running from Peru, Chile and the Argentine Republic into Bolivia, between Chile and the Argentine Republic, and between Uruguay and Brazil. Still another is under way to connect the Argentine Republic with Paraguay. Of these lines, the one extending from Arica on the Chilean coast to La Paz in Bolivia, which has recently been completed, finds its chief importance in its political and strategic value. Its twenty-eight miles of rack-track constitute the longest uninterrupted stretch of cog-and-wheel construction in existence. At its highest point the road is nearly 14,000 feet above the level of the sea. This, however, is about 2,000 feet lower than the altitude of the Oroya Railway in Peru, the loftiest of all in Latin America, or indeed of any in the world.

On the lakes and rivers one still finds craft as primitive as any of those in colonial times. Such, for example, are the native boats called "caballitos" (little horses), on Lake Titicaca, made of straw and propelled by sails of woven grass. On the shallowest sections of the rivers are numerous row-boats and barges for the conveyance of freight and passengers. River steamers are largely, but not wholly, owned and run by foreigners, among whom the British occupy

the foremost place. Many of the governments, also, are actively engaged in the task of improving the internal waterways, chiefly with European aid. On the larger rivers of the Argentine Republic and Uruguay the Argentine steamer service is excellent.

Except in the case of small coasting-vessels, Brazil is the only Latin-American country that has steamships of its own for oceanic trade on a large scale. The service furnished by the British, German, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish and other European lines plying to Latin-American ports is extensive and, in the main, adequate. Some of the vessels running between the United States and those ports are owned by American corporations, but they regularly fly European flags.

In the great majority of Latin-American harbors the methods of landing and embarking are rather primitive. Owing to the lack of wharves, the steamers have to anchor at some distance off shore. Passengers and luggage, ordinarily, are transferred in rowboats, and articles of freight in barges rowed with long sweeps. Sometimes when the weather is too stormy to allow the use of rowboats, the vessels approach as near as they can to the long iron jetty, which in many places serves as a wharf, and the passengers are loaded into a sort of basket

attached to a crane, and thus swung ashore.

An improvement in the mail and passenger service between the United States and the countries of South America is very much to be desired. With the completion of the Panama Canal many of the obstacles will be removed. Transversely, between the Atlantic coast of the United States and the Pacific coast of South America, and the Pacific coast of the former and the Atlantic coast of the latter, the distance will be greatly shortened, the cost of transportation lowered and an era of commercial relationship in general established closer than has prevailed hitherto.

Practically throughout the republics of Latin America the telegraph service is either owned, or directly controlled, by the government. Wireless telegraphy has been installed in many of them. Telephone communication, as a rule, is in private hands and managed by foreigners. Uruguay, however, has entered upon a process of nationalizing, not only the telephone and telegraph service, but other facilities of a more or less public character.

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION

Almost everywhere in the republics of Latin America a marked contrast exists between the highly cultured few and the poorly educated, or illiterate, many. The intellectual men and women, who are to be met with in the cities of importance, are comparable with the best of their class in Europe and the United States. They have traveled abroad, they commonly speak several languages, usually French and often English, in addition to their own native Spanish or Portuguese; and they are versed in all of the accomplishments that a refined society would demand. They are familiar, also, with the world's progress in the arts and sciences, and in many cases they possess fine private libraries and art collections.

The number of persons in the various states who cannot read or write ranges approximately from thirty per cent to ninety per cent of the total population, though reliable statistics about the matter, as a rule, are very hard to obtain. Great as the contrast may be, even in some of the advanced republics, between the cultured few at the top and the ignorant many at the bottom, it is gradually disappearing.

In proportion as the development of their natural resources has enabled any of the Latin-American countries to make material progress in a relatively high degree, its ideas about the necessity of spreading education among the masses have become correspondingly broadened. Enlightened and public-spirited men are coming to realize more and more fully that the first essential of democracy is that all of the people should be educated.

Anyone who has watched closely the changes that have occurred in many of the Latin-American republics during the last quarter of a century, and in a few cases during a still longer period, sees how widely diffused modern ideas and methods of education have become. The number of schools, especially those for primary instruction, has increased enormously. New universities have been created, and earnest efforts have been made to reach out to the classes formerly excluded from intellectual benefits. Night schools and other institutions of the sort have been introduced, and educational matters in general have been given much of the public interest that they deserve.

German, French and American teachers have come under government contract to make their influence felt far and wide. The German and the French teachers have

devoted themselves, more especially, to scientific and technical instruction. Models, specimens, maps, charts, pictures and the like, used in the schools, are commonly of German origin. Americans have had a considerable share in promoting the development of training-schools for teachers, and have aided the course of improvement in primary and technical instruction as well. In several countries of Central America the study of English is prescribed for the primary schools, and in nearly all of the republics of Latin America at large it forms an important part of the curriculum in the high schools.

Especial efforts have been made to produce professional teachers and to give them proper salaries. Commissioners have been sent to visit European countries and the United States, in order to study their educational systems. Students, also, have been enabled, through the enjoyment of government stipends, to attend educational institutions there, as a means of assuring for their careers a greater usefulness to their fellow-countrymen.

All of these manifestations of progress have come substantially from the increased expenditure of the governments themselves. To a very slight extent only have they been promoted through occasional contributions

by private individuals. On this point it might be said that rich men and women in Latin America seldom give or bequeath money for educational purposes, their donations going rather to religious and charitable bodies.

The modern ideas and methods of education, of course, are to be seen to most advantage in the larger cities of such states as Uruguay, the Argentine Republic, Chile, Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba and Mexico, and to a smaller degree in Peru and Bolivia. Here the schools are fairly numerous, often efficiently conducted and quite well supplied with many of the materials that modern pedagogy demands for the purpose of instruction. Here, also, the program of studies and the manner of carrying on the work in the classroom are commonly based on French, German or American models. It is the proud boast of Costa Rica, for example, that it has more schoolteachers than soldiers, and that about one eighth of its annual budget is devoted to the education of the people.

Naturally the kind of education afforded in the larger cities is everywhere far better than it is in the provincial towns or in the remoter districts of the country, where the facilities and conveniences of instruction, even in the more progressive republics, are

apt to be poor, or non-existent, and where the degree of ignorance often is dense. Several of the countries, however, are making earnest efforts to raise the mental standard of the less favored races. When other means are not available, missionary schools, supported by the government, have been set up. So as to induce the less tractable Indians to live nearer the centers of civilized life, concessions of land are offered them, along with a promise of assistance in the shape of tools, stock and seed.

While much excellent work has been done, much still remains to be accomplished before the primary and secondary school systems in particular can attain a proper level of usefulness to the community. Instead of permanent school funds, appropriations voted annually by the legislature are now the rule. The supply of suitable textbooks and other educational material is frequently insufficient. Too small a number of the schools, also, possess libraries of their own.

In the republics of Latin America, as in other parts of the world, the complaint is heard that education is not practically adapted to the conditions of actual life; that it does not produce the kind of citizens required to bring wealth out of the soil, break with ancient prejudices and carry on the

processes of national development to the highest point. Except where commercial courses are given, there is a marked tendency to impose the same branches of study on every pupil, irrespective of tastes and aptitudes, or of future vocation. The needs of technical, industrial and commercial education, therefore, are not sufficiently considered.

Latin-American educators are pointing out that, because of inherited qualities of slowness of evolution in various respects, and chiefly because of a poor system of instruction, the great mass of the people of their respective countries lack as yet the mental equipment needed for economic efficiency. To meet this situation, they are urging the adoption of educational methods that will convert inclinations for a professional or military career into a genuine aptitude for industrial occupations. They feel, also, that in various ways the entrance of foreign ideas and usages is threatening the growth of nationality, and even leading to a decadence of national spirit. Accordingly, in order to offset any hurtful influence from this quarter, education ought to be made more strictly utilitarian in its aims and processes.

What are called "Schools of Arts and Trades" have long since been established, but the prevailing opinion is that these are

not altogether suited to modern requirements. They must be supplemented by distinctly vocational schools, where young men and women, especially those of the growing middle class, can receive training for various occupations, in addition merely to trades as such. The result is that almost everywhere in the larger cities the number of "professional" schools and institutions is steadily increasing.

Outside of the more advanced countries of Latin America, co-education beyond the kindergarten stage is rare, and even in the case of the republics of that sort the practice is not common. Though several of the states admit women to the universities, the opportunity thus afforded for higher education does not appear to be utilized very much, except perhaps in Uruguay.

Public instruction in the Latin-American states is either controlled by the general government, or is carried on with its coöperation, or under its supervision. The national government, also, represents the educational system of the country for all foreign purposes. The various educational institutions are regularly subject to the control of the Minister of Public Instruction, except that in the states where a federal form of government exists the administration of primary and secondary schools is more or less

divided between the national and the local authorities. Politics, of course, plays some part in the arrangement of the programs of study and in the selection of teachers, but on the whole its influence does not appear to be serious.

Non-official activities of an educational sort are numerous, especially in the countries where public instruction has received a considerable amount of recognition. Teachers' associations have been formed, congresses held and publications issued, which have greatly increased the consciousness of a solidarity of interest among the members of the teaching profession, and have contributed similarly to a knowledge and application of modern methods of education.

Everywhere primary instruction is free, and, if the parents of the children are too poor to pay for school supplies, provision is commonly made for furnishing them free of charge. Religious instruction in the public schools is prohibited by a few of the republics; but, except in a few others, it is not imparted in such a manner as to produce the impression that the ecclesiastical influence is dominant. Quite on the contrary, secular instruction is expressly called for in most cases. In the great majority of the republics, also, the law makes attendance at the primary schools compulsory up to a certain

age, although this requirement is seldom enforced in every section of the country, and often it is not enforced at all.

In view of the rapid spread of education and the consequent demand for teachers, the number of training-schools has not increased proportionately. Yet wherever they are established, due provision appears to be made for assuring to the future teachers opportunities for observation and practice. In some cases the pupils are given their board and clothing, in return for an agreement that they will teach in the schools of the country for a certain period of time.

Except, perhaps, for a few institutions founded and controlled by foreigners, there are no "colleges" in Latin America in the sense in which that term is used in England and the United States. All of the republics have at least one university, or a number of technical and professional establishments of university grade. Occasionally, as in Bolivia, the word "universidad" may refer to the general system of educational administration in a particular area, and not necessarily to a university as such. Most of the universities and other institutions of higher learning are controlled by the state; but they are commonly allowed to possess property of their own, and to enjoy a considerable amount of independence.

Among the leading institutions for higher education are the National Universities of Buenos Ayres and La Plata in the Argentine Republic; the professional and technical establishments in Brazil, like the Polytechnic School at Rio de Janeiro; the University of Chile, at Santiago; the University of the Republic, at Montevideo, Uruguay; the Mexican National University recently founded at the city of Mexico; the University of Havana, Cuba; the Greater University of St. Mark, at Lima, Peru; the Central University at Caracas, Venezuela, and the National University at Bogotá. A few of the institutions, as for example the Greater University of St. Mark, date from colonial times, and the Mexican National University is the successor of the old Royal and Pontifical University of St. Paul.

Professional titles of every description are granted only by the state. Brazil, however, took the radical step, in 1911, of abolishing academic titles altogether, and of furnishing instead certificates of proficiency. The reason given was that scholastic degrees are unsuited to a democratic society. By lessening the number of "doctors," and by discouraging aspirants to academic honors of the sort, Brazil hopes to divert the youthful intellect and energy

of the country from professional careers into channels of industrial usefulness.

Latin-American universities are organized after the European fashion in more or less separate faculties; and in the advanced republics, they commonly include a number of technical schools as well. In numerous instances they are equipped with corps of able professors, many of whom have studied abroad. As is frequently true of those giving instruction in secondary schools, and even in the primary schools, the university instructors are not usually teachers by profession. They are primarily practicing lawyers, physicians and engineers, or are actively engaged in some other occupation. They receive their appointment from the president through the Minister of Public Instruction, and are selected out of a list of eligible candidates submitted by the faculty concerned.

Uruguay is about the only republic that has endeavored to establish a body of university professors who are to devote their entire attention to teaching, and become expert and productive in their particular fields of research. This change is to be effected in some measure by assuring to the incumbents of the professorships a salary more adequate than that furnished by the separate "cátedras," or chairs of instruction.

Throughout the Latin-American universities in general, law, medicine and engineering are the courses of study which attract the largest number of students; but the impulse to take up other branches of learning, especially those having to do with the wider processes of industry, is becoming noticeable in the distinctly progressive republics. Pharmacy and dentistry regularly form part of the curriculum in the schools of medicine. In addition to their purely technical or professional phases, these three principal courses of study are commonly made to include a liberal education, on the order of that furnished by the colleges of England and the United States. In the scientific departments the apparatus used is imported largely from Europe, and from Germany and France in particular. The system of university extension and of free public lectures, also, has been introduced into a few of the more important cities.

As a rule the students are admitted to the university from the secondary schools without entrance examinations. What in English-speaking countries is called "college life" is conspicuously absent among them; or else student activities assume some other form. Fraternities, athletic associations and contests, debating clubs, musical and dramatic societies, college journalism and the like,

are practically unknown. Political interests, instead, are often made the subject for discussion or manifestation.

There is one activity, at least, among the students in the Latin-American universities which merits a word of description. In several of the institutions of higher learning the practice has recently arisen of forming student associations and of holding international student congresses. These associations are open to all members of the student body, and in the larger institutions there is a separate organization for each school or faculty, all of them being grouped into a university league. The international student congresses are unique of their kind. Convoked chiefly for the purpose of creating a wide sympathy among university men, the discussions and conferences held, relating to problems of interest to students, within and without the academic walls, are often of much value.

CHAPTER XVII

PUBLIC CHARITY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

As in other countries of the world, so in the republics of Latin America, most of the hospitals, poorhouses, asylums, reformatories, day nurseries and similar pub-

lic institutions for the relief of suffering and misfortune are maintained either by the national government or by the municipalities. Those in the larger cities, as a rule, are excellently equipped and managed.

The funds used for the maintenance of public charities come from various sources. These include grants from the national government and the municipalities, a certain percentage of judicial fines, part of the proceeds from lotteries, the revenues from properties belonging to the institutions concerned, and gifts and bequests of a private character.

As agencies for the encouragement of thrift on the part of the poorer classes, savings-banks are much less common than the so-called "Monte Pío," a species of fund for the benefit of widows and orphans, and the "Monte de Piedad," a kind of national pawnshop conducted by the government. Of institutions of the latter sort the most remarkable, perhaps, is the one in the city of Mexico, founded by private generosity while Spain was still ruling in America.

As might be expected in countries where the giving of alms is a religious duty, there are many religious bodies, "friendly societies" and similar organizations engaged in the dispensing of charity. Women are especially conspicuous in the

performance of public service of this kind in cases where members of their own sex or where children are concerned. A very large number of charitable institutions, in fact, are managed by boards of prominent men and women who serve without compensation.

These private boards of benevolence seem to employ the funds in their possession wisely, and to discharge their duties efficiently. The institutions under their charge are kept clean and healthful, and the inmates of them rendered as comfortable and contented as reason might demand. At least this is generally true of the institutions in the larger cities, whatever may be said of the conditions prevailing at times in the provincial towns and in the country districts.

The field of benevolent societies in Latin America, many of which are survivals from the colonial period, is usually broader than that of similar associations in other parts of the world. They often promote measures of relief which elsewhere are provided by the national or municipal governments. From these sources, also, they receive standing and financial support. Organizations like the "Society of Beneficence," "Ladies of Charity" and "Ladies of Mercy" in Buenos Ayres, for example, do admirable work.

Societies or institutes of social service

have begun to appear in a few of the larger cities, and to exert some measure of influence on the respective national or municipal governments, looking to a more effective promotion of social welfare. In several of the advanced republics efforts have been made to improve the lot of the working classes, and to help delinquents. These efforts include the determining of the legal responsibility of employers for accidents to workmen, the regulation of labor performed by women and children, reform in the treatment of juvenile offenders, and plans for aiding discharged prisoners to make an honest living.

Some steps, also, have been taken in the direction of discouraging alcoholism and of providing better conditions of existence for the poorer classes in the crowded sections of large cities. As Uruguay, the Argentine Republic and Brazil have been foremost in the enactment of the measures already described, so these countries and others, like Chile and Cuba, have provided for the erection in their capital cities, and to some extent elsewhere, of model tenements or other houses for working people. The government of Brazil, for instance, provides building sites whenever possible, exempts material for use in construction from the payment of import duties, and authorizes

the municipality of Rio de Janeiro to waive construction taxes. It provides, furthermore, that the amount of rent to be collected from the tenants shall be determined in accordance with a certain percentage of their earnings, and loans building companies funds for the several purposes mentioned.

Additional evidence of the growing interest in social service is furnished by the establishment in Buenos Ayres of the "Argentine Social Museum," an institution engaged in the study of the general problems of city and country, and in the promotion of suitable legislation. To these ends it issues various publications, maintains a bureau of consultation and conducts lecture courses. Leagues against the spread of tuberculosis, also, are becoming numerous, and in some cases are given active support by the respective governments. Brazil, for example, admits free of duty drugs and instruments for the use of such associations, and grants them the freedom of the mails.

CHAPTER XVIII

SCIENCE

When one considers the notions that are all too prevalent about the countries of Latin America in general, it may seem diffi-

cult to realize that in each republic, depending in some measure, of course, on the degree of its material advancement, there is to be found a body of men who are earnestly striving to solve scientific problems and to make the results of their investigations known. Even if little more than the titles of some of the learned societies and similar organizations for the promotion of science are given, they will suffice to furnish an idea of how widely diffused scientific activities in Latin America are.

Buenos Ayres is the seat of the "Argentine Scientific Society," and Rio de Janeiro that of the "Syllogeo Brazileiro," an organization comprising the "National Academy of Medicine," the "Institute of the Order of Lawyers" and the "Academy of Letters." Mexico has a "National Academy of Science" and Caracas an "Academy of Social Sciences and Belles Lettres." Atheneums for the holding of lectures and discussions on current problems, and for the cultivation of scientific, literary and artistic interests, are found in cities like Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, San José (Costa Rica) and Lima.

Legal studies are represented, for example, by the "Academy of Law and Jurisprudence," in Mexico, the membership of which includes the most prominent lawyers and statesmen of the country. Medicine and

surgery are promoted by the work of such organizations as the "Argentine Medical Society" and the "National Medical Institute" of Mexico. The latter body, also, gives considerable attention, among other things, to the study of Mexican fauna and flora.

In countries where mining is the great industry, societies for its development are numerous and active. The "National Geological Institute" of Mexico, equipped with excellent museums, laboratories and other facilities for practical work, conducts valuable investigations of the country's resources. Peru has a "Corps of Mining Engineers," which has contributed effectively to the exploration of the mining districts and to the description of geological formations.

Societies, institutes and academies for the study of geography, history and statistics are quite as common as those devoted to other branches of learning. Among them may be mentioned the "Geographical Institute," at Buenos Ayres; the "National Geographical Society," at Lima; the "Physical and Geographical Institute, at San José (Costa Rica); the "Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil," at Rio de Janeiro; the "Geographical and Statistical Society," at Mexico; and the national acad-

emies of history in Venezuela, Colombia and Cuba.

Most of these learned societies publish numerous books and pamphlets illustrative of the scientific researches carried on under their direction. Their libraries, museums and varied collections are utilized freely by governments and private individuals; and their activities in general contribute very appreciably to the intellectual and material progress of their respective countries.

National and international congresses for the discussion of problems connected with the study of law and medicine are frequently held. Since the close of the nineteenth century, however, intellectual coöperation of an international sort has taken the form of a series of scientific congresses in which the program has been far more comprehensive in scope. At the session of the fourth Latin-American Scientific Congress, held at Santiago, Chile, in 1908, the United States, also, was represented; and, to signalize the entrance of that country into intellectual fellowship with the other twenty nations of the New World, the name of the assemblage was changed to "Pan-American Scientific Congress."

The scientific subject for which the Latin Americans have especial fondness, and in

which many of them excel, is international law. Explanations of this preference are not difficult to find. Partly temperamental and partly historical, the reasons for it lie deep in the processes that have attended the course of national development in the countries of Latin America. Boundary disputes have had some influence; but the chief impulse has come from the great number of problems associated with the introduction of foreign capital and immigration. Many treatises, accordingly, have been written by Latin Americans on the aspects of international law relating to conditions in the various republics. A congress of jurists, also, held at Rio de Janeiro, in 1912, made considerable progress toward fixing the bases of a future codification of the law of nations, more especially in its Latin-American bearings.

Astronomical observatories and meteorological stations are numerous in Latin America, particularly in the capital cities. Of these probably the best equipped are the one connected with the University of La Plata, in the Argentine Republic, and the National Observatory, near the city of Mexico. Both are in close communication with similar establishments abroad and with foreign scientific bodies.

Practically all of the Latin-American

countries have a national museum of some kind for the display of objects relating to natural history, or to historic events and personages. Among the most noteworthy of them are the institutions in the cities of Mexico, La Plata, Buenos Ayres, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago (Chile), San José, La Paz and Lima, and the Goeldi Museum at Pará, Brazil. Nearly all of them issue publications, and are otherwise active in the advancement of science. In several cases their collections were brought together under the direction of French or German scholars.

The National Museum of Mexico, one of the earliest to be founded in Latin America, is famous for its local antiquities. The Museum of La Plata, which was originally established as an official center of research on the model of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, has since come to form part of the equipment of the university of that name. It is said to contain the largest collection of American fossils in existence. The National Museum at Rio de Janeiro is particularly valuable for its assortment of minerals, and of objects illustrating the life of the various native peoples who inhabit, or have inhabited, the huge area of Brazil. An excellent collection of pottery is housed in the institution at San José. The Goeldi Museum at Pará is devoted to

the exhibition of objects characteristic of the region of the Amazon.

Among the botanical gardens in Latin America, the one at Rio de Janeiro deservedly enjoys the greatest reputation. Covering an area of nearly 2,000 acres, it contains upwards of 60,000 specimens of vegetation from all parts of the world, and especially from Brazil itself.

A few zoölogical gardens, also, are found. The finest of them is located at Buenos Ayres. Its grounds are tastefully laid out, and the arrangements for the convenience and pleasure of the human visitor are no less effective than those for the comfort of its bird, beast and reptile occupants. Rio de Janeiro is about the only Latin-American city that has an aquarium of any importance.

As might be supposed from the description already given of the aborigines in colonial times, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador are the great resting-places of archæological remains. The ruins existing in these countries comprise such structures as pyramids, tombs, palaces, temples and fortresses. Some of them are built of adobe, others of blocks of hewn and unhewn stone, often of a prodigious size and weight. Many of the monuments, particularly in Mexico, Guatemala and Bolivia, are elaborately carved with representations of

human and animal figures and with symbolic devices, often accompanied by explanatory texts that still await decipherment.

Mexico, rightly called the "Egypt of America," both for the intrinsic worth of its treasures and for the curious resemblance they bear to the antiquities of the Nile country, is to-day the chief center of archæological research in the New World. The fact has been recognized by the recent establishment in the city of Mexico of an "International School of American Archæology and Ethnology," under the auspices of several universities of the United States and of the respective governments of France and Prussia, acting in coöperation with that of the republic of Mexico itself.

CHAPTER XIX

JOURNALISM

Every one of the Latin-American republics has a number of newspapers and other periodicals proportionate in quantity and quality to its stage of material progress. In the relatively backward states these journals are apt to be crude in make-up, and often in ideas as well. They consist commonly of four pages, badly printed on a poor quality of paper. The news they offer

is scanty, and filtered through other Latin-American sheets. On the other hand, in some of the more advanced countries, particularly in those of southern and eastern South America, the newspapers have attained a degree of development that is quite astounding.

In their general appearance, and in the arrangement of their reading matter and advertisements, the leading newspapers of Mexico resemble those of the United States; whereas in the republics of South America they resemble rather their contemporaries in London or Paris. The newspapers of the Central-American countries are more like those of Spain. Starting with four pages in the smaller republics, the dailies range through eight or ten pages, with special sheets or parts on Sunday, as in Mexico, up to thirty-two pages or more at times, as in the Argentine Republic and Brazil. Here as many as sixteen pages may be given over to advertising alone. In treatment, the Latin-American newspapers are disposed to imitate French, Spanish or Portuguese methods.

When writing news stories the Latin-American journalist usually follows the chronological order, so that often the most important facts are contained in the last paragraphs. Headings consist, as a rule, of two or three lines, and do not always afford a

clear notion of what the article is about. The average Latin-American editor, it would seem, looks upon the use of more elaborate and explanatory headlines as a manifestation of sensationalism. A busy man, accordingly, may have to read the whole newspaper before he finds out what he wants.

Rarely more than one leading editorial at a time is furnished. As a rule it is well written, and is much longer than similar compositions in American newspapers. Sunday editions are infrequent. When issued they are sometimes larger than those of week days; but they do not ordinarily strive after special features, and little effort is made to divide them into sections according to subjects. That hideous thing, called in the United States a "comic supplement," is almost unknown. Fortunately, also, the Latin-American countries have few "journals of color," such as "red-headed extras," pink sporting-sheets, green sheets in March and everyday sheets of the "yellow" kind. "Extras," in the proper sense of the term, are seldom issued.

The leading dailies, especially those in southern and eastern South America, regularly publish a greater amount of foreign news than do their contemporaries in the United States. The lesser degree of provincialism shown in this case is due in some

countries, perhaps, to the absence of a social and political life at home that is vigorous and powerful; in others to the presence of large foreign colonies, chiefly of Latin stock, who form a potent element in the circulation of the newspapers. Naturally the news of Spain, and, so far as Brazil is concerned, of Portugal, takes the foremost rank; but occurrences in France also occupy a position of great prominence. If the newspapers of the United States are apt to give the reading public an impression that revolutions and earthquakes are the main events of interest in Latin America, the journals of this area in turn are equally disposed to entertain their readers with accounts of American railway wrecks, divorce cases and lynchings!

Except in a few of the northern republics, where the influence of American customs is strong, newspapers are rarely sold on the streets. Instead, they are placed on sale at kiosks, in shops, or else sent out to subscribers. The price of the leading papers in South America ranges usually from three to five cents. In the smaller republics of North America they have a circulation of between 5,000 and 10,000 a day, those of Cuba averaging as high as 25,000. In the cities of Mexico and Rio de Janeiro they reach 100,000 or more a day, and in Buenos Ayres commonly between 130,000 and 150,000.

Hundreds of periodicals are published in such cities as Buenos Ayres, Mexico, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago (Chile) and Havana. The first named appropriately heads the list with about 500, including seventy or more dailies. Printed for the most part in Spanish, of course, these journalistic productions of the Argentine capital include periodicals of one sort or another in Italian, French, English, German, Danish, Arabic, Turkish, Swedish and Hebrew.

When one considers the number of persons in the Latin-American republics who are unable to read and write, and takes into account, also, the high price at which newspapers are commonly sold, the figures above quoted might seem surprising. It must be remembered, however, that they refer to the circulation of the dailies in the capital cities, where educational advantages naturally are at their best and hence increase the percentage of readers.

Taking the various countries as a whole, the reading of newspapers and other periodicals is small in comparison with that visible in corresponding areas in the United States or Great Britain. Nor are the newspapers, as a rule, the recognized organs of an effective and democratic public opinion; and they cannot become forums of the sort until civic education is far more widely

diffused in the republics concerned. They appear to represent the university class and the great landowners, merchants and bankers rather than the people at large.

Yet the size of the reading public in Latin America, and the extent of journalistic influence on the community, are not to be measured by the numerical amount of their circulation alone. Most of those who peruse the newspapers read them in preference to literature in magazine or book form. Throughout the less populous areas, individuals who know how to read retell the news to their less fortunate fellows, at the possible risk of diversion from their stated employments. In the city of Mexico it is even the custom for certain of the newspaper offices to post a copy of each issue on a billboard hanging against the front of the building, so that the impecunious may learn about the events of the day free of charge.

The greatest newspapers in Latin America are published in the capital cities of the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile and Mexico. In Buenos Ayres the three journals that stand foremost are "La Nación" (The Nation), "La Prensa" (The Press), and "La Argentina" (The Argentine). Of these the first two have long been the standard newspapers of the republic; but "La Argentina," which in form, composition and tone is more like

an American daily than its contemporaries are, has become a powerful rival of theirs. All three of them maintain traditions of the best sort of journalism as to their outspokenness, criticism and news service.

"La Nación" is a handsome sheet of some sixteen pages or more; the news it conveys is world-wide, well selected and interestingly told, and its editorials are sound and scholarly. In addition to its purely journalistic activities, it performs a useful public service in publishing numerous cheap editions of scientific works and of the better sort of literature, for popular distribution. Its supply of cable and telegraphic news, which is second perhaps only to that of its rival, "La Prensa," is quite comparable with the best of that furnished in the great cities of Europe.

In many respects "La Prensa" is the most remarkable example of journalistic enterprise in the world. Of the same general appearance and size as "La Nación," it supplies a telegraph and cable service that is one of the finest in existence, and maintains correspondents everywhere. In tone it is somewhat more sensational than its chief contemporary.

"La Prensa," however, is more than a newspaper. It is an institution, and its most extraordinary activities lie outside the

domain of what is ordinarily regarded as journalism. On the roof of its magnificent building are installed an observatory to furnish information about the state of the weather, and a searchlight to show the location of a fire and flash the news of important events. When the news is of unusual importance, a huge siren whistle is blown to attract public attention in a still more convincing manner. On the national holidays of the various countries of the world, also, the front of the building is draped with flags and bunting appropriate to the occasion.

"La Prensa" has its own electric light and power plant, and every sort of modern mechanical contrivance to facilitate its work, including wireless telegraphy. Even the drinking water used by the employees is sterilized by electricity. For these employees it maintains a restaurant, a gymnasium and other conveniences for recreation, and an emergency hospital; and in general it provides to the fullest extent for their comfort and health. The printing presses and linotypes are of the finest American make, and the reporters compose their "stories" on American typewriters.

Among the many services installed in the building of "La Prensa," and offered to the public aboslutely free of cost, are legal and

medical consultation bureaus, and one for matters connected with chemistry, agriculture and stock-raising, as well as a showroom for the display of objects relating to these branches of industry. It conducts a school of music, and offers prizes for unusual instances of self-denial and heroism, and for the encouragement of popular education. It sets aside a number of finely appointed rooms for the holding of public meetings, in which lectures, plays, concerts and the like are given in aid of some particular charity. Popular philharmonic societies assemble here to contend for prizes given by the paper for excellence in musical composition and performance. It also provides a public library and reading room. In addition to all this, it maintains a suite of luxuriously furnished apartments for the entertainment of distinguished foreign visitors.

In Brazil the journalistic situation is quite different from that found in the republics of Spanish America. Here the newspapers of the national capital do not enjoy a monopoly, to the virtual exclusion of the smaller cities and towns of the country. On account of the huge size of Brazil and the manner of its settlement in colonial times, the people of the several States interest themselves more fully in local affairs than is the case in the Spanish-speaking

republics. The newspaper press, therefore, is primarily local in character and tends to generalize the record of happenings in the remainder of the country, along with those from abroad.

The dean of the Brazilian press, and a formidable rival of its Argentine contemporaries, is "O Jornal do Commercio" (The Journal of Commerce), published at Rio de Janeiro. It is truly a great daily, not only for the soundness of its editorials and for the amount and accuracy of its news, but in the material sense as well, measuring, as it does, about one and one half times the size of the average newspaper in the United States. Normally a copy of the "Jornal do Commercio" runs from twelve to twenty pages, but on special occasions, like Christmas, it puts forth an edition of more than fifty pages. The greatest of Brazilian newspapers, also, is fittingly installed in a large and handsome building, replete with every modern convenience, and provided with printing apparatus of the best European and American makes.

The foremost newspaper of Chile is "El Mercurio" (The Mercury), and shares with "O Jornal do Commercio" the distinction of being one of the oldest newspapers in South America. Both were founded in 1827. "El Mercurio" is published at Valparaiso,

Santiago and one or two other cities, and has an evening edition entitled "Las Ultimas Noticias" (The Latest News). In form and the number of its pages it bears more resemblance to the American type of newspaper than it does to that of its contemporaries in Buenos Ayres and Rio de Janeiro. Like them it is installed in a fine modern edifice, and is provided with the apparatus suited to a newspaper plant of the first order. Its editorials are well written and the news of the day is conveyed in a compact and readable form.

In Mexico the most representative newspaper, perhaps, is "El Imparcial" (The Impartial); but since the resignation of Porfirio Díaz it has lost much of its former prestige. Largely influential in bringing the ideas of modern journalism into Mexico, it has performed a genuine public service in putting the newspaper within the reach of the poorest classes, through the issuance of penny editions. The oldest, and probably the best, newspaper in the countries of Central America is "El Diario del Salvador" (The Salvador Daily), published in the capital city of the republic of that name. Among the Cuban newspapers, "La Lucha" (The Struggle), of Havana, is one of the most important.

In addition to newspapers, of course, all

of the countries of Latin America publish literary, artistic and scientific journals, many of which are apt to have a precarious existence. Some of these periodicals of a weekly sort, like the one issued at Buenos Ayres and entitled "Caras y Caretas" (Faces and Masks), have few, if any, precise counterparts in the United States and Great Britain. They contain the news of the week, illustrated by photographs and cartoons, and are supplied, also, with comments on current topics, short stories, jokes and comic pictures.

Among the best of the larger illustrated journals are "La Ilustración Sud-Americana" and "El Arte Ilustrada," of Buenos Ayres; "A Ilustracão Brazileira," of Rio de Janeiro; "El Zigzag," of Santiago, Chile; "El Mundo Ilustrado," of Mexico, and "El Cojo Ilustrado" of Caracas. Of the more distinctly serious magazines, "La Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras" (The Review of Law, History and Letters), of Buenos Ayres, occupies a foremost place. The literary character of these and similar periodicals is a distinguishing feature. Most of them give proofs of a careful process of editing and selection, and are institutions in the life of their respective countries.

In the largest cities of Latin America, as already intimated, foreign newspapers are

numerous. Of those printed in English, the most noteworthy are : "The Standard" and the "Buenos Aires Herald" (Argentine Republic); "The Montevideo Times" (Uruguay); "The Mexican Herald" and "The Star and Herald," of Panama. The two last mentioned are published also in a Spanish edition. In the list of semi-weekly, weekly and monthly magazines and other periodicals put forth in English, may be mentioned "The Review of the River Plate," "The Brazilian Review," "The Chilean Times," and three in Mexico, namely, "The Pan-American Magazine," "The Mexican Investor" and "The Mexican Mining Journal."

CHAPTER XX

LITERATURE

During the wars of independence the Spanish-American mind busied itself chiefly in the composition of fierce invectives against the mother country, and of ardent appeals to the patriotic spirit of the time. The scenes and memories of the struggle were slow to find recorders in the poet and the historian. Instead, the necessities arising out of the new situation appeared to demand that attention should be given primarily to matters of political import.

Even for a half century after independence had been won, literary endeavor displayed itself largely in assailing or extolling the various governments, along with the aspirations or achievements of the individuals who shaped them. So complex were the questions offered, and so acute the differences of opinion among the factions and leaders, that the tinge of partisanship was exceptionally marked. Most of the works, indeed, published during this period served little more than to reflect the local attitude or the personal sentiments of their respective authors.

As conditions in one state or another became relatively free from internal disturbance, constitutional and international law, political economy and education were the subjects that occupied a position of prominence. Written mainly from an external or abstract point of view, the various treatises on these matters were apt to lack definiteness of application to purely national concerns. Descriptive only too often of institutions and practices in Europe, their presentation could not exercise a direct and potent influence on the life and thought of those to whom they were addressed.

Since about 1876, however, when the Latin-American nations in general began to be brought into closer contact with the world

at large, a keen interest has been aroused among them in social and economic problems of a concrete character. Journalists, essayists, novelists, poets and historians have come to take an active part in the discussion of the principles and measures that may tend to solve these problems, so far as they have arisen in their own countries. Instead of dealing with what concerns Europe, many of the authors have sought inspiration in the characteristics and environment of their own people. The inclination of former days to mistake the locality for the nation, and the individual for the community, is giving way to a spirit of vigorous and intense nationalism in all that lies within the realm of the intellect.

Though repudiating the political authority of Spain, the earlier writers of Spanish America long adhered to its literary ideals and forms. They had been educated exclusively in the traditions of the mother country. The languages of other European lands they scarcely knew. With the close of the wars of independence the pure literature engendered by the struggle came forth; but its expression ran in Spanish molds, and followed their changing structure from neo-classicism to romanticism.

Restrained by the tendency of the age to concentrate effort on political themes, dis-

couraged by the animosities of party strife, bereft of communication with the world of culture beyond, imaginative thought was unable to develop freely its own resources. When it finally met the flood of modern realism surging to the north of the Pyrenees, it was overwhelmed. Escaping the Spanish Scylla, it encountered the French Charybdis. Only of recent years has Spanish-American literature begun to display the vigor, freshness, spontaneity and originality which its environment ought to suggest.

The mother country left to its former colonies a rich, sonorous and flexible language, together with a literary style at once rhetorical, ceremonious, artificial and florid. Since then it has watched with disapproval what it regards as an abandonment by the Spanish Americans of the narrow path of correctness closely guarded by the canons of the Spanish "Academy of the Language." It reprehends their departure from pure Castilian, not only in actual speech and orthography, but in syntax and diction as well. On their part, the Spanish Americans assert that they have a more scientific conception of the development of speech. Their circumstances, also, they believe, justify them in making the Spanish language an instrument of expression, broader and more plastic than is possible in Spain itself.

So long as neo-classicism held sway in Spanish America, at all events, the standards of the Golden Age were strictly upheld. The great masters of the seventeenth century alone could be imitated, and criticism dealt harshly with the few daring spirits who strove to seek inspiration and guidance from some other source. Useful though it was in furthering the acquisition of taste and style, the model of the Spanish classicists proved to be too rigid, too stilted, if not altogether too antiquated, to suit the mental processes of the modern age. Nor was the situation improved by the excessively ornamental, and even bombastic, qualities of Spanish romanticism, which tended to hamper the employment of directness, simplicity and conciseness in expression. Accordingly the great body of Spanish-American poets and prose writers, unable to overcome the traditional usages, crossed the Pyrenees and surrendered themselves unconditionally to the ruling thought of France.

While the Spanish-American mind was passing through these vicissitudes, the course of intellectual development in Brazil bore quite a different character. Portugal had not endowed its former dominion with a literature so rich, so abundant and so varied as Spain had done in the case of its own pos-

sessions oversea. Brazilian authors, therefore, while using the Portuguese language as their natural vehicle of expression, were bound by few, if any, canons of masters and academies. Their literary standards they formed rather to suit their needs.

Exempt from the violent contests that were agitating the republics of Spanish America, the thought of Brazil concerned itself little with practical politics, or with theorizings about the state and its functions. Instead, it sought and found subjects for song and story in the aboriginal life of its own land. The result was that a fervid and devoted "Indianism" pervaded the literature of the earlier years of the empire.

Later, in proportion as Brazil came into a more intimate relationship with Europe, its men of letters fell inevitably into the currents of Old World mentality. English, German and French philosophy took a firm hold on the Brazilian imagination. Evolutionism, monism and positivism—each had its representatives; but positivism, the "religion of humanity," triumphed over its competitors. "Order and progress" became the national watchwords, and the influence of French methods and principles has remained in the ascendent, more extensive perhaps than profound. Yet with all its submissiveness to the control thus exer-

cised, the literature of Brazil is perhaps the most distinctly American in Latin America at large.

Without attempting to point out precisely how the intellectual supremacy, which France still enjoys in the twenty republics, is displayed, it may be sufficient to remark that the language and literature of that country appear to embody most of the qualities that fascinate the Latin-American mind. Through its language the Latin Americans familiarize themselves with the course of events in the literary, scientific and artistic world. Through it, also, they endeavor to give their own thought a wider publicity. French literature furnishes them a norm of correctness. Its ideas and diction, its content and style, impart refinement and elegance in taste, phraseology and expression.

No European nation has done so much, officially and privately, as France to strengthen its intellectual power in Latin America. The man of letters from any of the republics finds there a heartiness of welcome, an eagerness to meet his wishes, a desire to facilitate his work, which make an irresistible appeal. In this propaganda a group of Latin-American writers resident in Paris is taking an active and important share.

To form a just conception of what the

literature of the twenty republics is, and of what it seeks to realize, a number of other circumstances molding its development must be taken into account. Political disturbances or exigencies, and a somewhat excessive amount of foreign influence, have not been the only obstacles in the way of a full and free assertion of native genius. The intellectual isolation, in which Latin-American authors have stood toward one another, has prevented many of them from appreciating the abundance of material for treatment afforded by the history and present conditions of the various lands and peoples. Communication of minds among them, on the whole, is weaker even than commercial and political connection.

The Latin-American men of letters may know their own particular country or Europe, but they are often unable, or unwilling, to interest themselves in the mental achievements of their neighbors of like or similar origin. Coöperation of an effective sort is thus impeded, and an impulse given, either to make literature provincial, rather than American, in spirit, or else to copy what Europe offers, without due consideration of its adaptability to national needs.

Then, too, a species of intellectual cult, handed down from colonial times, is still fairly prevalent. An exaggerated respect

is shown to the utterances or publications of an "authority," whose statements and opinions are held to be unquestionable in their soundness and veracity. Hence, if any given matter is not mentioned, or is condemned, by such an "authority," it does not exist, is valueless or is dangerous to believe, as the case may be.

Instead of enjoying a system of education widely diffused, an enlightened public opinion that recognizes and stimulates literary genius, an abundance of readers, a multiplicity of publishers, and numerous and easily available libraries, the Latin-American countries are distinctly lacking in these incentives to authorship. Outside of a few of the largest cities, the circle of readers is probably smaller than that of a single street in London, New York or Berlin. If the advanced states of the world put forth the better sort of books cheaply, in order to reach the mass of the people, the reverse is commonly true in Latin America. There the cost of publication is heavy, and the best works are addressed to a very small class, issued in limited editions, and usually brought out at the expense of the author.

Laboring in an atmosphere from which, as they complain, literary taste and appreciation are largely missing, the men who possess the ability to write books and the

means to publish them are almost forced to give them away. On the other hand, the conjunction of the two endowments is not always a benefit to the author and his group of readers. As the one is tempted to write and publish lavishly, so the other is impelled to estimate literary importance in terms of quantity rather than of quality.

Of the lighter literature of Latin America, a large part has had to appear in periodicals, with the effect of fostering an inclination to continue producing it in that form. Many of the works of eminent writers exist only in fugitive publications, difficult of access. Recently, however, efforts have been made to collect and republish, in so-called "bibliotecas," or "libraries," much of the valuable material that may be drawn from those and other sources.

Because of the fact that the sales of almost any book of merit are so limited, the expense of printing treatises of general interest or permanent worth is frequently borne, in whole or in part, by the governments. Nor is it rare to find official encouragement offered to literary enterprise, through the award of prizes or the grant of stipends, to enable writers of promise to study abroad.

In most of the countries, the novelists and dramatists suffer from the disadvantage of having no adequate protection against

European, and notably French, competition. Publishers and managers, it would seem, find it easier, and certainly cheaper, to secure translations than to interest themselves in native works. Although many of the republics have a clause in the national constitution, guaranteeing the right of an author to ownership in the creations of his mind, suitable provision is seldom made to enforce it.

This policy of denying the utility of the copyright system, so far as local circumstances are concerned, has not a few defenders in Latin America. They argue, in all seriousness, that the free reproduction of works originally issued in Europe or the United States promotes the growth of home talent by force of example, and hence conduces to the formation of a national literature. Indeed they venture to assert that it is the duty of authors in the more advanced countries of the world to allow their books or plays to be translated gratuitously for the benefit of their less fortunate fellows. The larger publicity thus received and a happy knowledge of the good thus accomplished, ought to be regarded, they think, as sufficient compensation.

Practically all of the states possess national libraries, some of which, like those of Brazil, Mexico, Chile and the Argentine

Republic, are of considerable importance. Most of the collections, however, are unsuitably housed, and the facilities vouchsafed to readers are often quite inadequate. Except in the capital cities, public libraries are rare. The result is, that the difficulties attendant upon transportation make the national collections well-nigh useless to persons who live at a considerable distance.

Given these drawbacks, the Latin-American writers who have persevered in spite of them deserve all the more credit for what they have accomplished. Even if they have not brought forth as yet any individual work that has wielded a powerful influence on the literature of the world, they have composed many of a high type of excellence. Were Spanish and Portuguese international languages in the sense that English, French and German are, the productions of the Latin-American mind would be more fully appreciated.

There is a saying in the tropics that "life without literature and quinine is not worth living." Whatever the potence of the drug, the activity of the Latin-American intellect, both within and without the tropics, certainly would seem to make the adage true. The material backwardness, furthermore, of any particular republic is no evidence of poverty of mind. Some of

the least advanced states have been the birthplaces of eminent men of letters. While every one of the Latin-American countries can point with pride to a considerable number of gifted writers on many themes, eight out of the twenty nations may be singled out, perhaps, as literary centers, alike for the amount and for the excellence of the works produced. These are the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Latin Americans are especially prolific in the composition of poetry, to which the liquid qualities of the Spanish and Portuguese languages easily lend themselves. Literary criticism, also, is an art cultivated by them with marked success. Prose fiction, and the writing of short stories in particular, they have taken up only in recent years; hence the number of authors representing it is still quite small. Among the more serious branches of literature, history, biography, ethnology, politics, jurisprudence, economics, sociology and psychology are often treated at great length and with much skill. In the cultivation of some of these phases of productive thought, the Argentine Republic may be said to excel in politics and social science, Brazil in romance, Chile in history and Colombia in poetry.

Literature, to the Latin American, is

a form of recreation rather than a stated profession. His mental drift being toward introspection, he is readily disposed to put his soliloquies on paper. He tries, therefore, to reproduce his own thoughts, instead of seeking to reach the mind of others.

Public men in the various countries, moreover, are apt to be able writers. Political life and literary vigor seem to be mutually stimulating. Versatility is another marked feature of the Latin-American intellect. Its most gifted exponents, familiar with many branches of learning, and endowed with brilliant imaginative faculties, write almost, if not quite, equally as well on one subject as they do on another. Accordingly it is difficult at times to determine which particular type of thought a given author represents.

Latin-American literature is characterized by an ingenious and agile style, an ease and elasticity of form, a freedom of expression and a singularly rich and varied vocabulary. While not violating the essential principles of grammar, it does not permit itself to be dominated by them. On the other hand it retains, in some measure, the florid, bombastic and redundant elements included in the heritage from the mother countries. Trending toward exaggerated modes of setting forth ideas, it frequently lacks terseness and directness.

Many of the best writers of Latin America, however, are striving to model their works on the masterpieces of prose and poetry of all time, and not simply on the literary standards of Spain, Portugal or France. They are no less earnest, also, in their effort to choose their themes from national life and from life in the New World at large. In this attitude they are being upheld by a reaction among the members of the reading public in behalf of native authors, which may enable them to enjoy an ampler field for the display of their genius.

CHAPTER XXI

FINE ARTS

VIEWING the twenty republics as a whole, native drama, music, architecture, sculpture and painting appear to stand on a much lower level of achievement than native literature. Though keenly appreciative of all forms of beauty, the Latin American, so far as his own creative instinct is concerned prefers to give them expression in the written word. Other manifestations of the intellect and the imagination, which yield æsthetic pleasure, he is more content to draw from Europe, or to have the government furnish them the needful encouragement.

Talented as many of the native artists are, they can hardly be compared, either in genius or productivity, with the great men of letters.

In Latin America the promotion of the fine arts is regarded as a distinct function of the government, national or municipal. Through its operation the double purpose, presumably, is accomplished, of stimulating native talent and of enhancing refinement of taste among the people at large. Accordingly the governments in most of the republics support outright, or are the chief contributors to the maintenance, not only of art galleries and museums, but of theaters, opera-houses, conservatories of music and schools of art. Expositions are held under official auspices, and prizes are awarded for the best native productions. When unusually talented pupils are found at any of the institutions, public or private, they are frequently given the means to study abroad. Coöperating, also, with the official agencies, numerous private organizations supply opportunities for native ability to assert itself. All of these efforts to foster a love of the beautiful, of course, are seen to chief advantage in the national capitals, and notably in Buenos Ayres, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico, Santiago and Caracas.

To the Latin-American artist, France and

Italy are the potent sources of inspiration and instruction. Paris, in particular, is the mecca toward which he sets his face, and from which he hopes to gain the recognition that will bring him fame in his own country. The French and Italian schools, indeed, exercise a profound and far-reaching influence on the development of artistic conception and execution everywhere in Latin America.

In the realms of drama and music, several of the capital cities can boast of theaters and opera-houses comparable with the finest of their kind in Europe or the United States. The "National" in Mexico, the "Colon" (Columbus) in Buenos Ayres, and the "Municipal" in Rio de Janeiro and Santiago, are noteworthy examples of modern magnificence and equipment in playhouses.

Native dramatic talent being scant, nearly all the stage productions are brought from Europe. While the works of the classical Spanish dramatists and of recent Spanish playwrights, including the "zarzuela" or species of short play set to music, have a certain vogue, French and Italian pieces, given either in the original or in translation, are especially popular. The actors, also, come chiefly from Spain, France and Italy.

The Latin-American countries have pro-

duced a number of excellent musicians, and not a few composers of merit. As a rule the efforts of the native composers are confined to the writing of patriotic and popular songs. Where the music is not clearly of European origin, it commonly takes the form of marking the rythm of a dance or of accompanying a song.

Grand opera is everywhere the great attraction, if the financial means are available for its support. In cities like Buenos Ayres, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago and Montevideo, it is presented on a sumptuous scale. Many a world-renowned conductor or singer has made his début there. The companies usually are Italian, and their répertoire consists for the most part of Italian and French operas. The heavy dramatic music of the Germans does not appeal so much to the Latin-American temperament. Some of the earlier and more melodious Wagnerian operas, and even the prelude and closing number of the "trilogy," are sung, but then almost always in Italian.

Concerts and oratorios are frequently given in the large cities. Chamber music is heard at times, but it is not particularly cared for. Band concerts in the public squares make abundant provision to meet the more popular requirements.

In nearly all of the national capitals the

important public buildings are handsome in design and elaborate in construction. Lofty edifices are seen only in a few of the largest cities. The houses rarely consist of more than two stories, and those of but one story are the commonest. Brick and stucco, rather than stone, are used as building materials, mud and straw, however, being the chief components in the huts of the poorer classes, especially in the tropical areas. Many of the towns still preserve the quaint appearance of colonial times. This is notably true of their ecclesiastical buildings, the great majority of which date from that period. There also, and even in the larger cities, the streets are often no wider than they were in the days of Spanish and Portuguese rule, and hence are apt to cause serious congestion of traffic.

Of late years a marvelous work of transformation has been effected in several of the national capitals, such as Buenos Ayres, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico and Montevideo. In them, and even in a number of other urban centers not so populous, the idea of the "city beautiful" has been cultivated to a very gratifying extent. Vast sums of money have been spent to make them representative of the best that modern conditions of light, ventilation, cleanliness and attractiveness demand. Broad highways and promenades

have been built, fine public squares laid out, and charming parks and gardens constructed, the whole replete with fountains, statuary and other embellishments.

Under the direction of its municipal art commission, Buenos Ayres, moreover, for some years past has been encouraging the builders of private structures to render them handsome in appearance. It awards annually a medal and a diploma to the architect designing the best façade, and exempts the owner of the edifice that wins the prize from the payment of certain taxes. A bronze plate with a suitable inscription is affixed, also, to the front of the building thus chosen for distinction.

If the Latin-American republics have not brought forth many dramatists, musicians and architects whose names and achievements are likely to be long remembered by their countrymen, the reverse is true of the sculptors and painters, especially of those of Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela. They too have had to face some of the difficulties besetting the pathway of the men of letters, and in addition have had to encounter others peculiar to their own fields of activity.

Much of the handiwork of colonial craftsmen, and of many a European master, which might have served to kindle the enthusiasm

and emulation of Latin-American artists, perished or disappeared during the course of the struggle for independence and the political agitation following it. The examples that survived, and in particular the treasures kept in the churches, were only too often seized and sold in reckless fashion by governments, or revolutionists, to help replenish their war-chests. Later, when normal conditions had been established, questions of material advancement crowded out all thought of attention to the plastic and pictorial arts. Not until the grade of public welfare had reached a point where it might provide the needful money, leisure and understanding, could they obtain a fair amount of recognition.

Like their contemporaries in the field of literature, the Latin-American sculptors and painters became obsessed with the idea that Europe alone could furnish, not only the skill and technique required in their profession, but the subjects for representation as well. Clinging persistently, and even blindly, to Greek and French models, the works that came from their chisel and brush were rarely more than mediocre and lifeless copies. Such productions aroused neither pleasure nor dislike; they were simply to be looked at and forgotten. Only in the last decade or two have some of the Latin-

American artists begun to realize that, while they can derive immense advantage from a course of study under European masters, they should search primarily in their own lands for the inspiration that will quicken their creative impulse, and should strive to render the expression of it vigorously and soundly national.

Even to-day, as a rule, the Latin-American painter is so much under the spell of his foreign teachers that he seldom attempts to reproduce his native environment. Oblivious to the physical beauties of his country, he ignores its landscapes. Nor does he find the inspiration that he should in the interesting and often picturesque social types surrounding him — types like the Indians and the peasant classes in general, the cowboys, ranchmen, rural police and the like. Studies of animal life rarely attract him. Instead, he covers his canvases with representations of historical episodes, or with those of the genre order, the subjects of which are frequently suggested from Europe. He paints portraits, also, and occasionally puts forth a religious picture.

Regarded in its broad outlines, the work of Latin-American painters, on the technical side, is characterized more by the facility of coloring and by tendencies to impressionism than by a solicitous regard for com-

position and drawing, or by the inward qualities concerned in the appreciation of sentiments and emotions. The external and obvious allurements of intensity in the disposition of light and shade, the temptation to produce striking, and, in a measure, sensational effects, are what appear usually to captivate their imagination.

Still, in alluding to the deficiencies of both sculptors and painters in Latin America, proper allowance must be made for the existence of drawbacks not of their own choosing. The faults are often due to defective conditions in their native countries, such as a lack of good professional models, an insufficient number of public museums or of private collections, the mediocre quality of most of those actually available and the comparative feebleness of financial incentives offered by local patrons of the fine arts.

Of the national galleries in the capital cities, those in Mexico, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, Caracas and Buenos Ayres are the most noteworthy. That of Mexico dates from colonial times, and, in spite of the many vicissitudes through which its canvases and sculptures have passed, still preserves much that is a tribute to Mexican genius. The galleries in Rio de Janeiro and Santiago, furthermore, enjoy the advantage of being housed in superb build-

ings, recently erected as fitting homes for the art treasures of the nations to which they belong.

Although the several collections in question are not comparable in any sense with those to be seen in the great metropolitan cities of the world, they are often of considerable interest and value. They contain, not only choice examples of the works of native artists, but originals and copies of productions by many of the celebrated masters of Europe.

APPENDIX

AREA AND POPULATION (1913)

The date in parentheses after the name of each republic is that of its declaration of independence. In many cases the figures given for the area and population are approximate only.

REPUBLIC	AREA sq. miles	POPULATION
Argentine Republic (July 9, 1816)	1,139,979	6,989,023
Bolivia (August 10, 1825)	708,195	2,267,935
United States of Brazil (September 7, 1822—empire; November 15, 1889—republic)	3,218,130	20,515,000
Chile (January 1, 1818)	291,500	3,500,000
Colombia (July 16, 1813)	438,436	4,320,000
Costa Rica (September 15, 1821)	23,000	388,266
Cuba (April 20, 1898)	44,164	2,161,662
Dominican Republic (December 1, 1821)	19,325	673,611
Ecuador (December 11, 1811)	116,000	1,500,000
Guatemala (September 15, 1821)	48,290	1,992,000
Haiti (January 1, 1804)	10,200	2,000,000
Honduras (September 15, 1821)	46,250	553,446
United Mexican States (September 28, 1821)	767,097	15,063,207
Nicaragua (September 15, 1821)	49,200	600,000
Panama (November 4, 1903)	32,280	419,029
Paraguay (June 11, 1811)	171,815	800,000
Peru (July 28, 1821)	679,600	4,500,000
Salvador (September 15, 1821)	7,225	1,700,000
Uruguay (August 28, 1828)	72,210	1,042,686
United States of Venezuela (July 5, 1811)	393,976	2,713,703

SUGGESTIONS TO READERS

In the brief list that follows, only books and periodicals in English will be mentioned, and those mainly of a general character. Accounts of the institutional, intellectual and artistic life in Latin America are too scattered, or otherwise too difficult of access, to warrant the insertion of more than a few titles. Descriptive and statistical data bearing on many of the topics treated in the present work will be found in the *Bulletin*, handbooks and other publications of the Pan-American Union (Washington, D. C.), the chief official source of general information; in the *South American Supplement*, issued monthly by "The Times" (London), and in *The Statesman's Year Book*.

Colonial period and wars of independence. E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America*. B. Moses, *South America on the Eve of Emancipation*. R. G. Watson, *Spanish and Portuguese South America*. See, also, the appropriate chapters in the *Cambridge Modern History*. E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America* (native civilization before the arrival of the Europeans). A. Helps, *The Spanish Conquest in America*. C. H. Haring, *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century*. H. C. Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*. F. A. MacNutt, *Bartholomew de las Casas*. R. P. C. Graham, *A Vanished Arcadia* (Jesuit missions in Paraguay). S. Baxter, *Spanish Colonial Architecture in Mexico*. A. H. Noll and H. P. McMahon, *The Life and Times of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla* (revolutionary movement in Mexico). F. L. Petre, *Simon Bolivar*. B. Mitre, *The Emancipation of South America*. F. L. Paxson, *The Independence of the South American Republics*.

General history and description. A. H. Keane, *Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel: Central and South America*. F. Garcia Calderon, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress* (from the standpoint of a Peruvian). James Bryce, *South America: Observations and Impressions* (last five chapters, good political survey of the Latin-American countries as a whole). S. Bonsal, *The American Mediterranean;* and F. Treves, *The Cradle of the Deep* (the republics in and around the Caribbean Sea). A. Fortier and J. R. Ficklen, *Central America and Mexico*. F. Palmer, *Central America and its Problems*. T. C. Dawson, *The South American Republics*. C. E. Akers, *A History of South America*. R. P. Porter, *The Ten Republics*. A. Ruhl, *The Other Americans*.

Individual countries. W. H. Koebel, *Argentina.* W. A. Hirst, *Argentina.* M. R. Wright, *Bolivia.* P. Denis, *Brazil.* G. F. S. Elliot, *Chile.* P. J. Eder, *Colombia.* R. Villafranca, *Costa Rica.* F. Lindsay, *Cuba.* N. O. Winter, *Guatemala.* C. R. Enock, *Mexico.* A. Edwards, *Panama.* M. R. Hardy, *Paraguay.* C. R. Enock, *Peru.* P. F. Martin, *Salvador.* W. H. Koebel, *Uruguay.* L. V. Dalton, *Venezuela.*

The constitutions of the Latin-American countries will be found in J. I. Rodriguez, *American Constitutions.* For the financial situation, see the annual report of the Council of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders (London). Educational conditions are described in P. Monroe, *An Encyclopedia of Education.* Accounts of ancient monuments are given in L. Spence, *The Civilization of Ancient Mexico;* A. C. and A. P. Maudslay, *A Glimpse at Guatemala, etc.,* and T. A. Joyce, *South American Archæology.* For the intellectual development see the articles on Latin-American literature in Warner's *Library of the World's Best Literature* (Vol. XV), and the *Encyclopedia Americana;* and on Portuguese-Brazilian literature and Spanish-American literature in *The New International Encyclopedia.* Translations of representative works in F. Starr, *Readings from modern Mexican Authors;* R. Fernandez Guardia, "*Cuentos ticos*" (short stories of Costa Rica), J. Isaacs, *Maria, a South American Romance* (Colombia). Fine arts: R. H. Lamborn, *Mexican Paintings and Painters.*

INDEX

A, B, C Alliance, 100
Africa, 27
Agriculture, 42, 49, 154–155, 157–158
Alcabala, 43
Alcaldías mayores, 27
America, discoveries and settlement of, 9–16
Americans, 123, 193–194
Anchieta, José de, 59
Araucanians, 29, 90
Architecture, 245–246
Area of Latin America, 107–108
Argentine Confederation, 92
Argentine Republic, 13, 74, 94, 98, 99, 107, 109, 113, 119, 121, 125, 127, 131, 141, 151, 152, 155, 158, 163–165, 174–179, 181–185, 188–190, 195, 207, 237.
Arica, 97
Art, French influence on, 243; galleries, 249–250; government aid to, 242; Italian influence on, 243; state of development of, 241–242
Arts and Trades, schools of, 197–8
Audiencia, 25–26, 75
Asia, 27
Asiento, 22, 46
Atacama, Desert of, 96
Avería, 45
Ayuntamiento, 27
Aztecs, 11

Balboa, 11, 12
Banana cultivation, 158
Banks, 168–169; national, 153
Bogota, 25, 201
Bolívar, Simón, 75, 85–87, 99
Bolivia, 12, 25, 42, 75, 94, 97, 107–108, 113, 118, 124, 161, 174–176, 181, 186–187, 195, 214
Books, publication of, 235–236; sales of, 236; copyright system, lack of, 237

Boundary disputes, 96
Brazil, 13, 15–17, 19, 27, 33, 46, 48–49, 59, 67, 68, 77, 78, 92, 94–95, 98, 100, 107, 109, 110, 112, 118–121, 123, 125–126, 129, 139, 141, 151–152, 155, 158, 160, 165, 174–179, 181–190, 195, 201, 207, 214, 218, 223, 231, 233, 237, 239, 246
British Honduras, 19
Buccaneers, 18
Buenos Ayres, 33, 75, 91, 109, 111, 123, 140, 201, 206, 208, 210, 213, 219–220, 226, 242–244, 249
Business customs, 170–172

Cabildo, 27
Cacao, production of, 160
Caliche, 156
Capital, foreign, 84, 156, 169, 184–185; lack of, 165
Capitulaciones, 22
Captaincies, 25, 28
Caracas, 33, 201,[1] 209, 242, 249
Casa de Contratacion, 43
Caudillo, 83
Charitable institutions, 206–208
Charqui, 164
Chile, 12, 13, 19, 25, 75, 90, 94, 96, 97, 100–101, 107, 109, 113, 118, 121, 125, 127, 131, 151, 155, 174, 176, 181–184, 195, 207, 237, 239, 246
Church, work of, 50; and State, 139
Cities, 140
Citrus fruits, cultivation of, 158–159
Classes, social, 131–132
Clergy, 51
Climate of Latin America, 109–111
Code Napoleon, 150
Codes, legal, 150
Coffee production, 159–160
Colombia, 11, 25, 42, 75, 94–95, 107, 118, 119, 139, 152, 168, 174–178, 181–182, 188, 239
Columbus, Christopher, 9, 24
Congressmen, election of, 148; qualifications of, 148–149
Conquistadores, 13
Conquistas de almas, 55
Conquest, motives of Spanish for, 13; results of, 14
Constitutions, nature of, 82–83, 141–142
Corregimientos, 27
Cortes, Hernando, 12
Council of the Indies, 23
Costa Rica, 90, 94, 98, 109, 119, 125, 131, 158, 174, 175, 195
Creoles, 33
Cuba, 76, 94, 95, 119, 125, 131, 141, 168, 174, 176, 182, 195, 207, 218
Curas, 51
Currency, 151–152

Demarcation line, 10
Deputies, Chamber of, 148
Días de moda, 138
Díaz, Porfirio, 95, 225
Dictators, 86–87, 89
Doctrineros, 51
Dominican Republic, 94, 101, 102, 119, 124, 174, 177–178, 181, 185
Drago Doctrine, 103

Ecuador, 12, 25, 75, 90, 107, 119, 139, 167, 174–176, 188, 214
Education, 60–61; methods of, 193–195; primary, 199; professional, 200–203; technical, 197–198
Elections, 144–146
Employer's liability, 207
Encomienda, 40
Entradas, 55
Escoceses, 88
Estancieros, 132
Exports, 174–178; agricultural, 174–175; animal products, 175; forest products, 175; mineral, 174

Fauna, 116–117
Fazendeiros, 132
Ferdinand VII, 72–73
Fiestas, 56
Fleet system, 44–46
Flora, 118–120
Foreigners, rights of, 102–103
Forest products, 118
France, 19, 45, 72, 100, 178, 231, 241–243
Freemasons, 88

Gauchos, 131
Gente de razón, 35
Germany, Germans, 128, 156, 173, 193–194
Gobernaciones, 26
Gobiernos, 27
Government, Portuguese colonial, 27–29; Spanish colonial, 20–27
Governments, forms of, 141–143; municipal, 158
Grand opera, 244
Great Britain, 77, 79, 100, 101, 178
Guanaco, 116
Guatemala, 12, 90, 94, 98, 102, 114, 116, 119, 174–175, 177–179, 214
Guianas, 19

Hacendados, 132
Haciendas, 134
Hague Peace Conference, 100

Haiti, 79, 94, 102, 119, 124, 174, 175, 177, 178, 181
Harbors, 108, 109
Havana, 33, 140, 219
Heretics, 34
Hispaniola, 9, 11
Honduras, 90, 94, 98, 102, 118, 139, 174, 176–177, 181, 214

Iguazú, falls of, 116
Imports, 177–179
Immigrants, 169
Immigration, 81–84, 126–129
Incas, 30, 37
Independence, British aid to, 74; character of struggle for, 69–70; French influence on, 71–72; recognition of, 76–77, 79; United States sympathy for, 76
Indians, civilization of, 29–30, 39; conversion of, 55–57; enslavement of, 31, 36, 40; instruction of, 55–56; religion of, 52–54; social relations of, 35, 36, 38; treatment of, 30–31, 36, 39–41, 53–57
Industries, government aid to, 154–155
Inquisition, 50, 54, 62
Intendants, 27, 41
International law, 212
Irrigation, 154
Italy, Italians, 127, 173, 243

Juarez, Benito, 92
Jesuits, 17, 57–59, 68
João, 78
Journalism, 65, 215–227
Judicial system, 149
Juntas, 73
Jurisprudence, Latin American, 149–150

Labor, supply of, 133–135; lack of skilled, 165
Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 54–55, 59
Laws of the Indies, 24
Libraries, national, 237–238
Lima, 33, 61, 65, 201
Literacy, 192
Literature, Latin American, 63–64, 68, 227–240; authority in, 234–235; characteristics of, 227–228; French influence on, 231; Spanish influence on, 229; subjects of, 228–229
Llama, 116
Llaneros, 131
Lottery, 140

Mail service, 191
Magellan, Straits of, 185
Maguey, 167
Mamelucos, 37
Manufacturing, 165–168
Mayas, 59
Meat industry, 164–165
Mestizo, 32
Metric system, 173
Mexico, 19, 42, 74, 75, 83, 94, 95, 98, 101, 107–109, 113, 114, 118, 120, 123, 128, 129, 139, 141, 154, 167, 174–176, 178, 182, 185, 195, 210, 214–216, 225, 237, 239, 243, 246
Mexico City, 33, 62, 172, 184, 205, 242, 244, 249
Military service, 150
Minas Geraes, 47
Minerals, 118
Mining, 47, 154, 156–157
Miranda, Francisco de, 74
Missionaries, 51–52
Mita, 40
Monroe Doctrine, 76, 103, 105
Montesquieu, 71
Montevideo, 140, 201, 219, 244–245
Mulatto, 32
Murillo, 67
Museums, 213–214

Napoleon, 77
Napoleon III, 101
Negro slaves, 30, 37, 46, 49, 55, 95
New Spain, 25, 60, 73
Newspapers, Latin American, 65–66, 215–227; character of, 215–216; circulation of, 218–219; dailies, 217–218; 220, 225
Nicaragua, 11–12, 90, 94, 98, 102, 107, 112, 114, 118, 167, 174–176, 181

Painting, 66–67, 246, 249; European influence on, 242
Pampas, 113, 164
Panama, 94, 95, 107, 111, 139, 175–177
Panama, Canal, 191; Congress, 99; hats, 167, 175
Pan-American Scientific Congress, 211
Pan-Americanism, 105–106
Pan-American Union, 106
Paraguay, 12, 25, 57, 75, 94, 98, 107–108, 152, 160, 167, 174–179; 189
Paulistas, 16–17
Pedro (Emperor) 78–79
Pedro II, Dom, 93
Pelota, 140
Peonage, 133–134

Personal characteristics of Latin Americans, 135–136
Peru, 25, 37, 42, 62, 73, 75, 94, 101, 118–119, 124, 161, 165, 174–177, 186, 188, 195, 210, 214, 239
Philippines, 25
Pirates, 18
Pizarro, Francisco, 12
Political, ideas, 85–89; issues, 145; parties, 144–145
Population, 32–33, 38, 122–123; density of, 121
Portugal, 9, 10, 17, 18, 27, 48, 49, 78, 218, 231, 241
President, office of, 140–147; tenure of, 146
Presidencies, 25
Printing, 61–63, 77
Public debt, 150–151
Public opinion, lack of, 142
Pulque, 167
Puna, 110

Quetzal, 116

Race elements, 123–130; mixture of, 31–32
Railways, 179, 181–189
Real patronato, 50
Reductions, 57
Register ships, 46
Remesas de Indias, 43
Repartimiento, 40
Republics, classification, 94
Rio de Janeiro, 109, 125, 140, 201, 209–210, 212, 214, 219
River, systems, 114–116; navigation of, 189–190
Robertson, 71
Romería, 56
Rousseau, 71
Rubber industry, 161–163

Salvador, 12, 90, 94, 98, 108, 131, 174, 178
Saint Domingue, 79; French expedition to, 80
San Martín, 75
Santiago de Chile, 123, 140, 225–226, 242–244, 249
São Paulo, 15, 16, 160
Sculpture, 66–67, 246–249; European influence on, 247
Senate, 148
Situados, 43
Smugglers, 18
Social service, 206–208
Societies, learned, 209–211; scientific, 209
Soroche, 110
Spain, Spaniards, 9, 13, 17–19, 46, 50, 72, 77, 80, 173, 216, 241, 243
Sports, 140
Stock raising, 42, 154–155, 163–164
Student Congresses, International, 204
Student life, 203
Suffrage, 143–144

Tacna, 97
Tariff, 173
Taxation, 43, 48, 151; forms of, 151
Teachers' Associations, 199
Textiles, 166–167
Tobacco culture and manufacture, 167–168
Toussaint L'Ouverture, 79–80
Towns, 140
Trade, amounts of, 175–176
Training schools for teachers, 194, 200
Transportation, charges for, 180; methods of, 179–180

Universities, 61, 200–201, 203
Unitaries, 88
United States, 19, 71, 76, 88, 95, 98, 101, 103–107, 114, 123, 170, 177, 179, 200, 218
United States in its relations to Latin America, 103–106
Uruguay, 18, 77, 94, 98, 113, 125–126, 131, 139, 151, 155, 158, 165, 175–176, 178–179; 181, 183, 189–190, 195, 198, 202, 207, 239

Valorization of coffee, 160
Vaqueros, 131
Venezuela, 11, 25, 74, 92, 94, 102, 141, 174–178, 239, 246
Vice-President, 146–147
Viceroy, 26, 29
Viceroyalties, 25
Vicuña, 116
Visitadores, 23
Voltaire, 71

Washington, peace conference at, 98
Welser, 11
Women in Latin America, 138–140

Yerba, 160–161
Yorkinos, 88

Zambo, 32

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